MEMORIALS OF EMINENT YALE MEN

ANSON PHELPS STOKES

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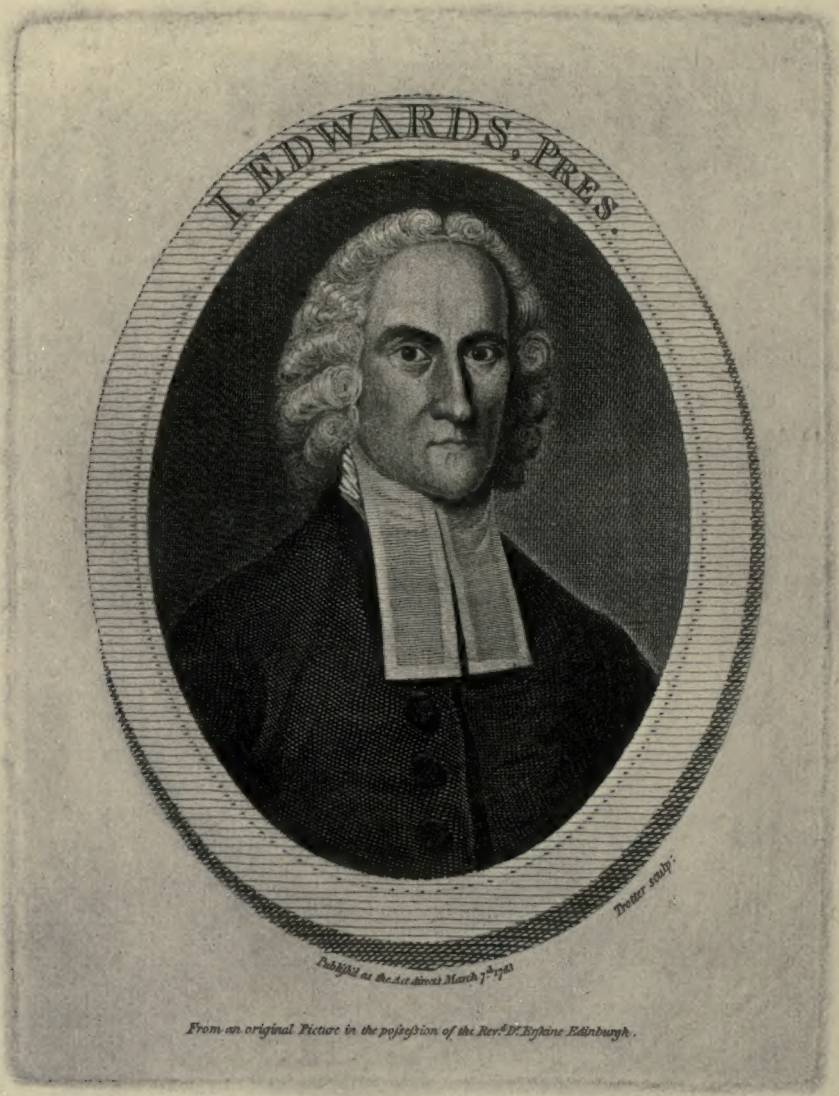
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MEMORIALS OF EMINENT YALE MEN

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF STUDENT LIFE AND UNIVERSITY INFLUENCES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

By
ANSON PHELPS STOKES

VOLUME I
RELIGION AND LETTERS

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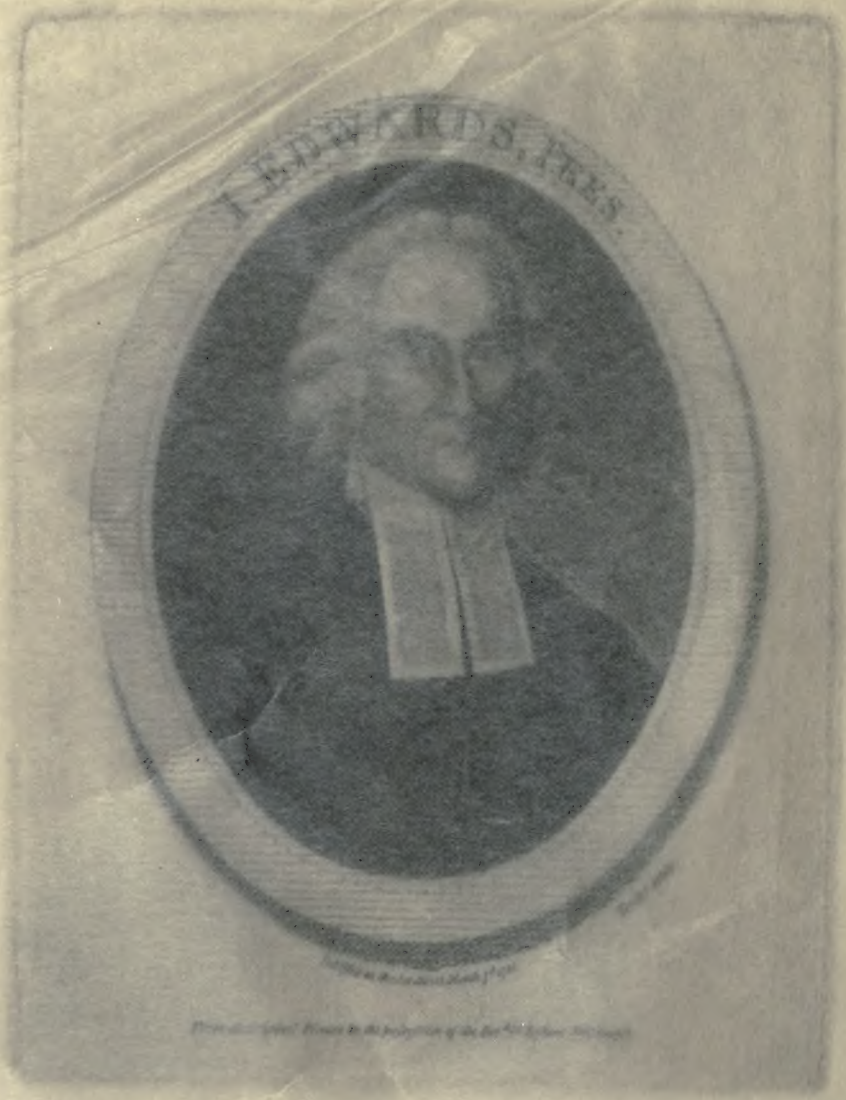

JONATHAN EDWARDS

CLASS OF 1720

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Univ.
Y.

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY FATHER

WHO EXEMPLIFIED THE TRUE SPIRIT OF AN HISTORIC UNIVERSITY BY COMBINING OPENNESS OF MIND TO NEW ASPECTS OF TRUTH WITH REVERENCE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST

PREFACE

In presenting these volumes to the public, I wish to express my special obligations to my predecessor as Secretary of Yale University, Professor Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. His scholarly historical researches and his spirit of coöperation have helped me greatly in carrying out my purpose to show the influence of the University on its most eminent graduates and on the nation's history.

My wife's encouragement, suggestions, and criticisms have also been of the greatest service, especially through constant emphasis on the need of making the biographies as human and vital as possible, without in any way sacrificing definiteness and accuracy in detail.

I am also under obligations to Mr. E. Byrne Hackett of the Yale University Press for advice on matters bearing on the bookmaker's art, and for interest manifested in many helpful ways. For the Index I am indebted to my friend, Mr. John Fletcher. Miss Lottie G. Bishop and Mr. William Bedell have also rendered assistance in the preparation of the manuscript for the printers and in the various stages of the work incident to publication.

I offer these volumes to the Yale Brotherhood as a slight tribute of appreciation of what the University as a beneficent Alma Mater has meant to me. I am hopeful that the reading of them, in connection with a study of the Memorial Hall collection of engravings and autographs of the men here commemorated, may tend to strengthen devotion to the University and to its ideals.

Woodbridge Hall,
Yale University,
May 1, 1914.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES

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TABLE OF YALE DATES

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Charter of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, 1701
Collegiate School opened at Saybrook, 1702

Administration of Rector Andrew (*pro tempore*), 1707–1719

First Catalogue of Graduates, 1714
Collegiate School moved to New Haven, 1716
Collegiate School named Yale College, 1718
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Rector and Tutor declare for Episcopacy and are dismissed, 1722

Administration of Rector Williams, 1726–1739

Berkeley Scholarships founded, 1733

Administration of President Clap, 1740–1766

First important religious awakening, 1741
Revised Charter of Yale College, 1745
Connecticut Hall completed, 1752
Linonia founded, 1753
First Professorship established (Theology), 1755
(French and Indian War, which lasted seven years, begun, 1756)
Church of Christ in Yale College organized, 1757
First chapel (Athenæum) completed, 1763

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Administration of President Daggett (*pro tempore*), 1766–1777

(Stamp Act, 1765)
Brothers in Unity founded, 1768
Second Professorship established (Mathematics and Natural Philosophy), 1770
(Declaration of Independence, 1776)
Instruction in Belles Lettres begun by Tutor Dwight, 1776

Administration of President Stiles, 1778–1795

Invasion of New Haven by the British under General Tryon, 1779
Yale chapter of Phi Beta Kappa founded, 1780
(Adoption of Articles of Confederation, 1781)
Final demolition of first College Hall, 1782
Dining Hall (afterwards Chemical Laboratory) built, 1782
(Treaty of Peace signed, 1783)
(Washington inaugurated, 1789)
Act adding certain state officers to Corporation, 1792
South College completed, 1793

Administration of President Dwight, 1795–1817

Faculty first recognized as a vital part of the College government, 1795
First class to issue printed Class Record, 1797
Moral Society founded, 1797
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences established, 1799
Ownership of College Street front of old Campus completed, 1800
Beginning of the modern teaching of Science, by Professor Silliman, 1802
Fagging abolished, 1804
First regular undergraduate publication—*Literary Cabinet*, 1806
Gibbs collection of minerals secured (although not purchased until 1825), 1807
(Second war declared against England, 1812)
Sheffield Hall acquired for use of Medical School, 1812
First catalogue in pamphlet form, 1813
Beginning of medical instruction, 1813

Administration of President Day, 1817–1846

Society for Inquiry regarding Missions founded, 1818
American (Silliman's) *Journal of Science* founded, 1818
Calliope founded, 1819
(Missouri Compromise, 1820)
Chi Delta Theta founded, 1821
Beginning of instruction in Divinity School, 1822
Law School affiliated to the College, 1824
Instruction in Modern Languages (optional) begun, 1825
First gymnasium apparatus (outdoor) purchased, 1826

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First College class to graduate as many as one hundred students, 1826
First Society of the Alumni organized, 1827
"Bread and Butter Rebellion," 1828
"Conic Sections Rebellion," 1830
Trumbull collection of paintings acquired, 1831
The "Great Revival," 1831
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Class Orators and Poets become a regular institution, 1833
Old Brick Row completed by erection of Theological Building, 1835
Library increased to 10,000 volumes, 1835
Yale Literary Magazine established, 1836
First Greek Letter Fraternity established, 1836
Bullyism (originated prior to 1800) abolished, 1840
Yale Banner established, 1841
New Englander (later *Yale Review*) established, 1843
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School of Applied Chemistry started, 1847
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Football on City Green abolished, 1857
Daily evening prayers abolished, and morning prayers placed after breakfast, 1859
Old Gymnasium (Psychological Laboratory) completed, 1860
Annual *Obituary Record* first published, 1860.
Scientific Department named after Mr. Joseph E. Sheffield, 1861
(Confederate Government organized, 1861)
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Elective system extended to include about half of Junior and Senior year, 1876
Yale Daily News established, 1878
Library increased to 120,000 volumes, 1880
Young Men's Christian Association established, 1881
Total Funds of University first exceed two million dollars, 1884

Administration of President Dwight, 1886–1899

Dwight Hall (Y. M. C. A. building) erected, 1886
Act authorizing name Yale University, 1887
Chittenden Library erected, 1888
Yale Alumni Weekly established, 1891
University Gymnasium erected, 1892
First intercollegiate debate, 1892
Winchester Hall erected, 1893
Music School established, 1894
First Vanderbilt dormitory erected, 1894
Yale Scientific Monthly established, 1894
(War with Spain, 1898)
Total Funds of University four and a half million dollars, 1899

Administration of President Hadley, 1899–

Forest School established, 1900
First Dramatic Association production, 1900
Bicentennial Buildings completed, 1902
Greek made optional for admission to College, 1903
First Sheffield dormitory erected, 1903
Hillhouse property (Pierson-Sage Square) secured, 1905
Yale University Press established, 1908
University Laboratory quadrangle begun, 1910
Elizabethan Club established, 1911
Yale Review (New Series) begun, 1911
Census of University Libraries shows total of over 900,000 volumes, 1912
Total Funds of University exceed thirteen million dollars, 1912

MEMORIALS OF EMINENT YALE MEN

INTRODUCTION

Carlyle, in his *Heroes and Hero Worship,* says that "Great Men, taken up in any way, are profitable company." The sharing of this conviction, and the desire to help preserve the memories of two centuries of American student life, have led to the preparation of this volume. It is arranged to serve as an historical catalogue of the Collection of Autographs of eminent Yale men recently deposited at the University by the author. But it is his hope that it may render a broader service, by informing the academic public, and especially the Yale brotherhood, regarding some of the worthies of the past, and by creating a deeper interest in their ideals and achievements—the birthright of every member of an ancient university. The study of the part played by Yale in educating leaders of thought and action, should strengthen the conviction that it is to our historic institutions of learning that the nation must continue to look for much of its highest inspiration.

In the preface to the first collection of sketches of eminent university graduates, the delightful *Athenæ Oxonienses* of Anthony à Wood, occurs this statement which, with the single change of the word Oxford to Yale, may well be taken as showing the purpose of this work:

> The university of Oxford had now flourish'd for many centuries, its members had been great and famous; their works wanted neither value nor number, and therefore nothing seem'd more necessary for the increase of its glory, and for the true knowledge of its strength, than a register of its heroes and an exact survey of its powers: . . . .[1]

In the present work an attempt has been made to pick out from a mass of happenings, achievements, dates, and careers in Yale

[1] *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1813 Edition), Vol. I, p. clviii. The first edition appeared in 1691-1692. But Wood included under his "heroes" only "writers and bishops"—a limitation impossible today when the field of the learned professions has been so greatly extended that a university touches life on all sides.

biography, those of the most significance, and to illustrate them by characteristic incidents of college life and history. Portraits of the most eminent Yale men are given in bold relief, with special reference to their undergraduate years and associations. It is hoped that by thus bringing together the most important and suggestive human material afforded by two centuries of academic history, some of the privileges and opportunities of the University may be more fully appreciated. One can believe that the past has its lessons and its charm, and that to keep in touch with it is an academic privilege, and yet hold with the writer that student life at Yale is now on a worthier plane intellectually and morally than ever in the last two centuries.

The preparation of these volumes has involved three tasks—each a delightful recreation in the midst of more arduous duties. Their enumeration will show both the scope and the purpose of the work.

First: The selection of the names of the most eminent Yalensians.[2] According to the latest edition of the Quinquennial[3] Catalogue, taken as the starting point for this study, there were, in 1910, about twenty-six thousand graduates, of whom slightly over ten thousand were deceased. The living, and those who have died since its publication, have been excluded[4] from consideration, both because of the difficulty of reaching the right historical perspective, and because the choice from among them might have seemed an invidious undertaking. To select a reasonably small number from the remainder was not easy. The basis of selection, as the title of the book indicates, is eminence. This involves noble qualities of mind or soul, differing

[2] This term will be found frequently in this book. Although not in current use, it has the sanction of excellent authorities. Cf. Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, p. 223, Gilman, *Life of Dana*, p. 156, Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 264, and Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 416. The earliest reference noticed is in John Hubbard's poem, *The Benefactors of Yale College*, published in 1733.

[3] *Catalogue of Officers and Graduates*, 1910.

[4] Among men of distinction excluded because of their recent death, have been Yung Wing (B.A. 1854), recognized as the most important single factor in bringing about the conditions which have transformed the government of China, and George Jarvis Brush (Ph.B. 1852), Director of the Sheffield Scientific School from 1872 to 1898.

in this respect from notoriety; but it is hard to define and to apply a satisfactory objective test. A constructive contribution of broad or enduring significance to the history, thought, or inspiration of the American people, has generally been required for inclusion in this roll of honor. Yale is not able to boast of nine Premiers, as Eton may do, or of three Presidents, as Harvard may do, but the University lays claim to some "Immortals"—Chancellor Kent, Samuel F. B. Morse, Jonathan Edwards, Fenimore Cooper, Noah Webster, Willard Gibbs, and others. These volumes name seventy-nine men of large influence, whose biographies are given, and a supplementary list of the same number whose careers are only slightly less significant. These are arranged in the order of graduation, under nine representative group titles, such as Men of Science or Statesmen, so that the historical development of American thought in any general activity may be, in a measure, traced through the life work of its Yale representatives. It has been sometimes difficult to determine the proper grouping. For instance, Theodore Winthrop attained distinction both as a patriot and as an author; the elder President Dwight has valid claims to recognition under religion and education, in addition to having been a poet of large contemporary reputation; Woolsey was distinguished both as an educational leader and as a Greek scholar, while Manasseh Cutler was in turn pastor, scientist, educator, physician, and legislator. In these and similar cases it has been necessary to weigh the evidence, and to try to determine the field of main influence or emphasis. The addresses delivered in 1901 at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the College—the Bicentennial—suggested some of the names, while the votes for the Hall of Fame in New York have served as a corrective in preventing a purely local viewpoint. For the list as finally adopted the author assumes entire responsibility. It has been prepared without prejudice, and after most careful consultation with authorities in American history, and in such fields of activity as science, literature, and religion. Alumni who pursued studies at Yale after receiving a

degree from another institution of recognized collegiate standing are excluded because the college of first allegiance naturally claims them. A few men who left New Haven without receiving a diploma are commemorated, but only when they have been enrolled at least two years at the University and have not graduated elsewhere. These rules make possible the adding of David Brainerd (Class of 1743), Fenimore Cooper (Class of 1806), and a few others, including several scientists who studied at the University prior to the conferring of degrees in science; but unfortunately they exclude from consideration some eminent men, such as Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth[5] (Class of 1766), who was two years at Yale, leaving "at the desire of his parents,"[6] and later took his degree at Princeton.[7]

The criteria adopted also rule out some former members of the Yale Faculty who gave their most effective years to the upbuilding of the University and were intensely loyal to it, but who received their college education elsewhere. Among these are Thomas Clap (Harvard), Yale's vigorous President from 1740 to 1766; Nathan Smith (Harvard), the eminent medical authority who gave distinction to the Yale Medical School during the sixteen years (1813-1829) of his connection with it; William Dwight Whitney (Williams), the foremost American philologist, a Professor at Yale during most of the second half of the nineteenth century; and George Park Fisher (Brown), historian and theologian, for over fifty years, beginning with 1854, a strong factor in developing the Yale Divinity School.[8]

If the graduates of the eighteenth century seem to have received relatively more attention than those of the nineteenth, it may be mainly

[5] The omission of Ellsworth's name is, from a Yale standpoint, particularly hard. His four sons graduated from the College and his three daughters all married graduates.

[6] MS. Records of Presidents and Tutors, July 27, 1764.

[7] Among others ineligible are Joseph Cook (Class of 1862), prominent as lecturer and reformer, who left in Junior year and was afterwards graduated at Harvard; Major General Alfred H. Terry, U. S. A., who was enrolled in the Law School for only a single year, 1848-1849, the full extent of his collegiate education; Edward J. Phelps, Minister to England, student and Professor of Law at Yale, but a graduate of Middlebury, and Theodore William Dwight (Class of 1842, Law School), one of the most eminent of American law teachers, who graduated at Hamilton before pursuing his legal studies at New Haven.

[8] The names of Professors Samuel Harris (Bowdoin), theology; Francis Wayland (Brown), law; and Thomas Day Seymour (Western Reserve), classics, should also be added.

attributed to the fact that about half of the most distinguished Yale men who graduated after 1850 are excluded from consideration, because living when the latest Quinquennial Catalogue was published. Similarly, the graduates from the Academical Department are by far the most numerous, although all but the most recently established departments are represented. This may be explained by remembering that for over a century the College constituted the University.

Over one-third of the men have had some official connection with the University, having served as tutor, Professor, or Fellow. The old-time temporary tutorship had its disadvantages from the standpoint of scholarship, but it was considered so honorable a position and so valuable an experience, that the ablest men coveted the training. Consequently a large amount of material is available from addresses, letters, etc., showing educational ideals as developed at Yale in different periods by men who later won distinction in various fields. Quotations from such statements have been freely used, and will, it is hoped, prove suggestive to students today.

Second: The securing of the autograph letters and documents signed by eminent Yalensians has long been the author's "hobby." They form the basis of this book and give it its raison d'être. Those printed here are but a small part of a large collection, which is planned to include all Yale men of distinction. The making of it has involved several years of search, in which descendants, friends, auctions, and autograph dealers, have been of almost equal help. An effort has been made to obtain letters that are specially characteristic or of unusual significance because of their University or historical references. Some will thus be found to be of permanent value; others, although the best available, are of only slight intrinsic interest. It is the author's opinion that a letter in the handwriting of a great man is one of the most valuable of personal memorials. Contents, style, and character of writing, all throw light on personality, and help to bring back the conditions of a bygone time. Lord Bacon said that letters are "appendices of history." They are this and more. They

give the contemporary points of view of men in what is often a more characteristic and unrestrained way than public addresses or printed documents. Even casual notes frequently furnish evidence of social, political, or religious conditions of considerable value. It is hoped, although not the main purpose of this work, that its collection of representative letters of representative men, covering almost two centuries of American history, may be suggestive and valuable, especially in these days when the stenographer and typewriter are fast making letter writing a lost art.

The author's collection, from which the letters are taken, is made up of originals, except that David Bushnell and David Brainerd are represented by facsimiles, as explained in their biographies. In one case (Pelatiah Webster), the University Library has kindly loaned an autograph to fill a gap. In Memorial Hall each letter is framed with an engraving of its author, when such exists. Twenty of these, representing the most important names, are here reproduced. It is hoped that they may make some of the great personalities of the past more living forces. Anything seems worth while which renders more real the companionship of those who have left a worthy mark on the pages of our history.

Third: The preparation of the biographies and of the historical introductions and notes has constituted the major task. This has been facilitated by Professor Dexter's labors, referred to in the preface. But his books, in view of their character as formal works of reference, generally refrain from placing emphasis on the broad significance of a man's work, or from giving any extended account of his college course, and of the influences derived from it. Now these two things—collegiate influences and life achievements—are for the purposes of this study the matters of greatest importance. The standard works of general reference sometimes contain the latter, almost never the former, so, in these volumes, they are given what might otherwise seem a disproportionate amount of space. "He was graduated from Yale in . . . ." is the extent of the usual printed

statement. To secure the necessary information, "lives," correspondence, funeral sermons, college memorabilia, the records of the Corporation, of the Faculty, and of various Yale organizations, and other original sources, have been consulted, and the authority for important facts duly recorded. It has not, however, seemed necessary to cumber the notes with self-evident references, as where the subjects of eighteenth century "questiones" for the Master's degree, or Commencement parts, are copied from the printed programs in the Library of the University.

Of unpublished manuscript sources,[9] the most useful for our purposes have been the records of the historic debating societies of Linonia and Brothers in Unity. For the century prior to about 1860 they played a large part in the development of intellectual power and character, and most eminent Yalensians of the period were prominent in them. They also throw valuable light on the main currents of national interest at different times. The Faculty records have supplied relatively less, due to the fact that until recently the time at their meetings was mainly taken up in determining fines, penalties, and dismissals. Our investigations show that relatively few of the most representative graduates, except in the field of literature, were the objects of discipline. Future scientists and educators are ordinarily serious-minded youth, but the embryo author is apt to be impatient of restraint. Cooper, Stedman, and Theodore Winthrop (who may well be considered as a man of letters, although classed in this work under Patriots) were full of the exuberance of youth, and gave the authorities occasional trouble. Sill was sent home a year because of low scholarship, and Willis only barely got through. Incidentally let it be said that the perusal of early Faculty minutes is recommended to anyone inclined to pessimism on the subject of college manners and morals. A hundred and fifty years ago it was more difficult to maintain discipline among one hundred and fifty

[9] Unless otherwise mentioned, college record books quoted are in the University Library. Manuscript minutes of old debating clubs and of other defunct student organizations are in the libraries of the University and of the Russell Trust Association.

students than it is today among twenty times that number.[10] But insults to the college government, breaking windows of tutors, "smoking out" Freshmen, exploding gunpowder, "rebellions,"[11] and Town and Gown riots have ceased. They are no longer good form. College public opinion—that most potent agency for good—has condemned them. Organized disorder, in our most representative student communities, is no longer a source of anxiety.

It is the result of research into the effect on the life work of the most eminent Yale men in all pursuits and in all generations, of college studies and associations, that should give the volumes their main value. In some cases the available material is small, but such as it is, it is given; especially if it throws any light on the development of a man's mind or character, or on the conditions of undergraduate life in former days. The author has not been blind to the special attraction of the picturesque in Yale history or incident. Local color is helpful in giving the setting to a biography, and its recording is not without value in maintaining the atmosphere of college life.

There is no desire to overestimate the influence of university training or to maintain that it is equally great in all cases. The biographies here given will show how it has varied with different men. Sometimes it is marked, less often it is trifling, generally it is considerable. What Dr. Holmes would call the "choosing of our ancestors" and the ideals of the home are undoubtedly the greatest

[10] The all too prevalent spirit of disorder, especially in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, is shown in this typical incident where the Corporation itself felt called upon to take a hand: "Whereas on the 23rd Day of July last a Number of Scholars got into a Room in College and made a great Hallooing and Screaming, as to be heard above 100 Rods and the President and two of the Fellows coming near some in the Room seeing of them locked the Door. The said President and Fellows went to the Door and knocked and commanded the Persons in the Room to open the Door; several Times; but they all Refused. And some in the Room said, I wont several Times. You have no Business here; if You come you come at your Perril. The man that enters Dies." (MS. Corporation Records, September 16, 1761.) Then follow severe penalties for "High Handed Disobedience, Breach of Peace and Contempt of the Authority of the College." Such disorders formed the main subjects for discussion in Faculty meetings of the olden time. The early law regarding their minutes clearly shows this. They were to constitute "A Record of all penalties imposed upon the Students, with the reasons for the Same. . . . ."

[11] See under Rebellions, in Index. Cf. Harvard's experience in 1807, 1823, and 1834 as described in Vol. IV, New Series, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*. The most famous Town and Gown riots in New Haven were in 1841, 1854, and 1858. See Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*.

factors in determining men's character. The church, the school, and public opinion are also important, but nothing can take the place of family tradition in giving a young man the right start. It is partly because an historic university has in its corporate life so many characteristics in common with the home that it has become so great a factor in personal development. Its officers and ideals stand to a large extent *in loco parentis* during the critical years when youth is being transformed into early manhood. Boarding schools of the best type—which means in general those that have profited most from the work of Arnold of Rugby—are perhaps having today an equal influence on the average youth who goes from one of them to college, but the number who can afford this privilege is small. Few of the men here commemorated have enjoyed their advantages prior to entering Yale.

The departments of human activity covered are so varied, and the historical field is so broad, that no claim can be made to exhaustive knowledge or treatment. The same person cannot be an authority in such different fields as invention, theology, jurisprudence, and literature; so when the matters touched upon in these volumes are outside of the history of the University, the most that can be expected is that an earnest effort has been made by the author to base statements and conclusions on the most reliable authorities. It is believed that this has been done with a due regard both to accuracy and to perspective.

The author recognizes that his Alma Mater is only one of many important American universities, but he believes that she has the advantage over all except Harvard in historical interest. If this book should lead to similar studies regarding the graduates of Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, the University of Virginia, Dartmouth, the University of Michigan, and other historic institutions, it would be particularly gratifying. The representative universities and schools of England are rich in such volumes. Eton seems to have been specially favored, as Creasy's *Memoirs of Eminent Etonians,*

Jesse's *Memoirs of Celebrated Etonians,* and Benson's *Fasti Etonienses* bear witness. The ancient colleges of Oxford and Cambridge have also had the biographical side of their academic life and influence worthily preserved in book form, beginning with the classic *Athenæ Oxonienses.* The American colleges over a century old have had competent historians of their institutional development, but the real character of student life in different periods, and the part played by these collegiate foundations in influencing the later careers of eminent men, have been largely overlooked. The present work is an attempt to fill these gaps as far as Yale is concerned, and at the same time to preserve the memory of the achievements of her most distinguished sons—those who have helped to mold the thought and life of the nation.

CHAPTER I

DIVINES

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGION

There is no field of activity in which Yale's influence has been greater than in that of religion. This can be fully understood only when it is remembered that the College was founded by certain ministers "for upholding & Propagating of the Christian Protestant Religion,"[1] and that Christianity has continued the faith of their successors. As Oxford's contribution to English thought and life can be explained only by a study of her religious background, so no one is able to appreciate what Yale has meant to her graduates, without tracing the College's origin to Congregational New England. Fortunately the continuity of her religious influence has been unbroken, although there have been times, such as at the close of President Stiles' administration, when the spiritual life of the College was at a low ebb. It will be noticed—if the first President Dwight (B.A. 1769), who is classed among the educators, is for the time being included under religion, where his services were also of national significance—that every generation has had a conspicuous Yale leader in religious thought or activity. The names selected for biographies indicate only the most eminent or representative men, and in none of the groupings has the process of exclusion been so difficult. Scores of faithful and able pastors, who were men of large leadership in their communities, are not even mentioned, for lack of space. The fact should not be overlooked that many of these parish ministers,[2] now almost forgotten, were powers in the pulpit in their day.

[1] Preamble of Charter of 1701.

[2] Such were Joseph Lathrop (B.A. 1754), Gardiner Spring (B.A. 1805), and Joseph

There are four constructive movements in the history of religion to which Yale has made notable contributions, in addition to the all-important regular preaching and pastoral work of the ministry. These special fields of influence, in the order of their main historical development, have been the following:

The New England Theology. This is the most distinctive of American theological movements, and it is almost exclusively a Yale product.[3] Of the eight leaders who created this "system" and handed it down, with their own modifications, from generation to generation, all but one were graduates: Edwards, Hopkins, Bellamy, West, Smalley, Emmons, and Dwight, and the other, the younger Edwards, was a "grandson" of Yale, and a New Haven pastor. The fact that we have today departed far from many of its tenets should not blind us to its importance. For over a century it supplied most of New England, and the parts of the country settled by her sons, with their main motive in life, and with the intellectual background of their faith. It was at one time the "New Divinity," even though it now seems to us to be the incarnation of old-time orthodoxy. Such is the invariable history of progress in theology. It had the defects as well as the virtues of Calvinism, but it did as much as any other cause to develop that intense moral earnestness, that nobility of life and thought, that sense of utter dependence upon the Eternal God, which marked the founders of the Republic. Nor should we forget that the more liberal theologians of the later time, the men like Yale's Bushnell and Munger, who have done much to enfranchise religion, although they departed far from the old school-men of New England, always felt their continued obligations to them. Twentieth century Christianity would be in greater danger of developing into mere humanitarianism were it not for the impregnable foundations in the Being of God laid by Edwards and his successors.

Parrish Thompson (B.A. 1838). Asahel Nettleton (B.A. 1809), the American evangelist of the early nineteenth century, whose influence was felt on both sides of the ocean, and Professor Chauncey Allen Goodrich (B.A. 1810), the strongest Christian force among Yale undergraduates in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, also deserve at least passing notice.

[3] Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, p. 279.

The Establishment of the American Episcopal Church. It seems strange and illogical that one of the earliest important contributions of Yale to American religious life should have been in a direction that appeared at the time antagonistic to the plans and purposes of the founders of the College. Yet such is the case. The trouble started early. On September 13, 1722, the day after Commencement, Rector Cutler, Tutor Daniel Browne (B.A. 1714), Rev. Samuel Johnson (B.A. 1714), and four other graduates, also Congregational ministers, met the Trustees by appointment to discuss the validity of their ordination, of which the reading of books recently added to the Library made them in doubt. After a preliminary conference, an adjournment was taken until October 16, when a formal and public session was held at the College, Governor Saltonstall presiding. As agreement was impossible, the entire Faculty—that is the Rector and Tutor Browne—and a former tutor of prominence, Johnson, withdrew immediately from the Congregationalists, while the two first named were excused by the Trustees "from all further service." In November they sailed from Boston to obtain Episcopal ordination in England, as there was no Anglican Bishop in America. This series of events created a sensation, yes, a scandal in orthodox New England, for it meant that the much distrusted Episcopal Church was hereafter to have a native American ministry, and was not to be merely an exotic growth.

But a second step was necessary to make this result assured, an American Episcopate, and again the movement goes back to the College. The details are discussed under the biography of Bishop Seabury, which follows. The movement necessarily had to await American Independence, and even then was an exceedingly difficult thing to bring about. Finally, in March, 1783, a meeting of ten Connecticut clergymen, several of whom were Yale graduates, was held in Woodbury, and decided upon Jeremiah Leaming (B.A. 1745) and Samuel Seabury (B.A. 1748) as suitable for the proposed Episcopate. Seabury was finally selected, went to England and Scotland,

and was duly consecrated as the first American Bishop. It is also interesting in this connection to note that the first man episcopally ordained in America was another graduate, Philo Shelton (B.A. 1775). Bishop Seabury performed the ceremony. Samuel Johnson and his Yale associates thus accomplished the first step, while Seabury completed the necessary process in making the Episcopal Church an integral, self-perpetuating part of American religious life. The latter stands at the head of over twenty Bishops[4] who have received their education at the University.

The Missionary Movement. It is interesting to remember that the first official act at the first recorded meeting of the Yale Corporation, then called by the uneuphonious title of the "Collegiate Undertakers," emphasized the missionary note. Certain rules were adopted, mostly regarding religious instruction, with this preamble:

"Whereas it was the glorious publick Design of our now blessed Fathers, in their Remove from *Europe* into these parts of *America*, both to plant, and (under the Divine Blessing) to propagate in this Wilderness the blessed reformed Protestant Religion, in the Purity of its Order and Worship; not only to their Posterity, but also to the barbarous Natives: . . . ."[5]

There have been three major stages in the history of missionary interest in America, having to do respectively with the Indians, the settlement of the West, and foreign missions. With each of these the College has been prominently identified.

With the exception of John Eliot, the greatest of the apostles to the Indians, who was born and educated in England, the main early impulse for the conversion of the native Americans originated from Yale, and is identified with four eminent names: Edwards, Brainerd, Sergeant, and Wheelock, whose biographies are all included in this volume.

In the spread of religious faith and culture through the West,

[4] Of these at least three deserve special mention: William Heathcote DeLancey (B.A. 1817), first Bishop of Western New York, William Ingraham Kip (B.A. 1831), first Bishop of California, and Thomas March Clark (B.A. 1831), for many years Presiding Bishop and a leading broad churchman.

[5] Clap, *Annals*, p. 9.

Yale played a larger part than any other American university, as the line of Christian colleges throughout the states beyond the Alleghanies will testify. But this subject falls more properly under the head of Educational Leaders, and will be treated there, although touched upon in this section under the biography of Lyman Beecher.

The foreign missionary movement in America started with the meeting by the "haystack" at Williams College in 1806, under the leadership of Samuel J. Mills, afterwards, for a short time, a student of theology at New Haven. He and his associates reprinted the sermons of two Yale ministers, Edward Dorr Griffin (B.A. 1790) and John Henry Livingston (B.A. 1762), and used them with effect to give authority to their appeals. The former's effort, which had a remarkable influence on the movement, was entitled *The Kingdom of Christ: A Missionary Sermon,* and was first published in 1805, while that of Dr. Livingston—one of the most venerated figures in the American Dutch Reformed Church—was an *Address before the New York Missionary Society.* A significant result of the interest in world evangelization thus aroused was the establishment, in 1810, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—a statesmanlike Christian agency of international importance in supplementing and stimulating the work of the churches. It was at the house of Moses Stuart (B.A. 1799) that the organization was effected, while the first meeting of the incorporated society was at the home of Rev. Noah Porter (B.A. 1803). Its first three presidents, four out of nine members of the original Board, and nine out of twenty-six of the expanded Board of 1813, were Yale men,[6] as have been four of its secretaries, including Jeremiah Evarts (B.A. 1802), who held the office with great effectiveness during a critical period. It is hard to exaggerate the influence for good of the American Board, especially as a factor in Christian education in the far East.

Other foreign missionary enterprises influenced by the University are medical missions, which the world over look to Peter Parker (B.A.

[6] *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the A. B. C. F. M.*, p. 82.

1831) as their pioneer; the student movement in Asia, which had Yale founders in Ceylon, China, and Japan;[7] and Bible translation. The Arabic, Japanese, Hawaiian, Gilbertese, Zulu, and Chinese Mandarin Scriptures are largely the direct work of Yale men. Indirectly, through Professor Stuart's pupils, the University has also been influential in preparing versions in thirty[8] languages.

Yale does not stand first among American institutions in the number of foreign missionaries, although she has sent out about two hundred. A college like Oberlin is ahead of us here, but in the quality and broad influence of her men on the field, the University has not been surpassed. David Brainerd, Peter Parker, and Hiram Bingham have been chosen as worthy of having their biographies given, while four other graduates are included in the supplementary list. But it has been found necessary to omit many worthy names. If space permitted we should have included Asa Thurston (B.A. 1816), who remained as a pioneer missionary in Hawaii for forty-eight years without returning home, the wise teacher of two kings; David Tappan Stoddard (B.A. 1838), a Yale tutor and brilliant young scientist of deep spirituality, a successful early missionary in Persia, who compiled the well-known *Grammar of Modern Syriac Language* and *Modern Syriac Lexicon,* the manuscripts of which are in the University Library; Henry Blodget (B.A. 1848), the first[9] resident Protestant missionary in North China and one of the ablest; Henry H. Jessup (B.A. 1851), a potent influence in the Christianization of the Mohammedan world; Robert Allen Hume (B.A. 1868), whose labors in the serious Indian famine of 1900, crowning a life-time spent in important educational and religious service, earned for him the Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal from Queen Victoria; John K. H. DeForest (B.A. 1868), one of the most influential of missionaries in Japan; and Horace Tracy Pitkin (B.A. 1892), whose earnest work

[7] Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale,* p. 298. Professor Beach's chapter is a valuable summary.
[8] Park, *Discourse on Moses Stuart,* p. 37.
[9] *Statistics of the Class of 1848,* p. 88.

in America and whose heroic death protecting his fellow countrywomen in the Boxer Uprising in China, were so effective in stimulating the modern Student Volunteer Movement.

Such are the representative missionaries of the past. They would rejoice if alive today to see at New Haven the first University professorship[10] of Missions in America, and the country's most important Foreign Missionary Library,[11] as well as a firmly established Mission College in Changsha, China, manned and supported by graduates and friends of Yale.

The Yale Divinity School. This is in some ways the University's most permanent contribution to the cause of religion. The College was thought of from the beginning as in a special sense a training school for the pastorate, as shown by the fact that of the one hundred and one graduates of the first twenty years, sixty-six, or about two-thirds, entered the ministry. During the eighteenth century, and especially after the actual creation of a professorship of Divinity in 1755, Bachelors of Arts often came back to New Haven, as they did to Cambridge, for ministerial preparation, but the old custom still persisted of pursuing theological study with some noted country pastor and teacher—such as Smalley, Emmons, Bellamy, or West. President Dwight, conscious of the defects of the old system, became deeply interested in a plan for a University School of Theology. The postponement of its establishment until 1822, five years after his death, was due only to financial considerations. It was he who selected Dr. Taylor for the headship of the new Department. The School has prepared, in an atmosphere combining high scholarship, a sincere search for the truth, and devotion to the principles of evangelical Christianity, over one thousand[12] men, whose impress on the spread of the Gospel and on its adaptation to meet the needs of each age has

[10] The earliest attempt in America to give systematic instruction to foreign missionaries was at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, founded in 1816. The founder and his successor as principal were Yale men.

[11] This library is kept in a building erected by the bequest of Rev. George Edward Day (B.A. 1833), for many years Professor in the Divinity School.

[12] 1063, according to Quinquennial Catalogue of 1910.

not been exceeded by that of any seminary in the land. It was the second[13] theological school to be an integral and organized Department of an American university. It has always been abreast of the times, sometimes ahead of them, and has been classed, except perhaps for a few years after the middle of the nineteenth century, in the foremost group of American institutions[14] for divinity study.

The University has also taken a leading part in the voluntary religious activities[15] of students, especially in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association. For several undergraduate generations the Yale Association was recognized as the strongest of its character in the world, but the leaders of the movement are still living, so it cannot be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the organized activity of students for religious and moral ends is worthy to be ranked among the other contributions of the University to the cause of religion. Its roots go back to the days of David Brainerd (Class of 1743), but it was largely the manly Christian atmosphere developed by the first President Dwight (B.A. 1769), and strengthened by the work of Professor Goodrich (B.A. 1810),[16] that made Yale such a fertile field for this movement. It was fitting that it should finds its main center of activity in Dwight Hall.

Such are some of the religious movements in which the College has taken a leading part. But more important than all has been the influence—at times unconscious—of its somewhat stern but virile faith and attitude towards life, on the rank and file of graduates. The institution has passed from a small, local Collegiate School, under denominational influences, to a national, undenominational University, without losing its Christian ideals. This is the best of omens for the future.

[13] The Andover Seminary, established in 1808 and recently removed to Cambridge, alone antedated the Yale Seminary (1822) and the Harvard Seminary (1819).

[14] See *The Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Divinity School of Yale College.*

[15] Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale, passim.*

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 71, and *passim.*

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

Jonathan Edwards

Class of 1720

Born, October 3, 1703; Died, March 22, 1758

Theologian and Metaphysician

Jonathan Edwards was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, being the only son in a typical old-time New England pastor's family of eleven children. The authentic accounts of his precocity are remarkable. When ten years old he prepared a paper on the immateriality of the soul, and two years later wrote an interesting essay on the habits of the "flying spider."

He was admitted to college at the early age of thirteen, being a member of the first class after the removal of the institution to New Haven, in 1716. The test which he passed for admission is covered by this rule, copied by a student from the official "Orders and Appointments" of the period: "Such as are admitted students in ye Colledge shall in their examinations in order thereunto be found expert in both ye Greek and latin Grammer as also Grammatically Resolving both lattin and Greek Authors and in making Good and true lattin."[1]

On the seventeenth of October the following historic vote had been passed:

> that considering the Difficulties of continuing the Collegiate School at *Saybrook*, and that New-Haven is a very convenient Place for it, for which the most liberal Donations[2] are given, the Trustees agree to remove the said School from *Saybrook* to *New-Haven*, and it is now settled at New-Haven accordingly.

The execution of this resolution was attended with many difficulties. The Hartford contingent was powerful and hard to satisfy, while the

[1] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 347.

[2] 700 pounds Sterling. Saybrook offered £500, Hartford and Wethersfield smaller sums. Clap, *Annals of Yale College*, pp. 17, 18.

people in Saybrook objected so strenuously that the sheriff's aid had to be invoked before the library could be removed, and even then the disturbances resulted in the loss of about one-fifth of the volumes.[3]

During his Freshman year Edwards moved with some of his classmates to Wethersfield, where about half of his college life was passed. The reason for this removal is thus given in a letter to his sister:

> I suppose you are fully acquainted with our coming away from New-Haven, and the circumstances thereof. Since then we have been in a more prosperous condition, as I think, than ever. But the council and trustees, having lately had a meeting at New-Haven concerning it, have removed that which was the cause of our coming away, viz. Mr. Johnson, from the place of a tutor, and have put in Mr. Cutler, Pastor of Canterbury, President; who, as we hear, intends very speedily to be resident at Yale College, so that all the scholars belonging to our school expect to return there, as soon as our vacancy after the election is over.[4]

This letter seems to have been written in the spring of 1719. It is specially interesting for its reference to "Yale College," for it was during Edwards' temporary stay in Wethersfield that the "Collegiate School of Connecticut" adopted its present name, and he was the first graduate of great distinction to have a diploma bearing it. Elihu Yale, Governor of the East India Company, whose father was a New England merchant, had been a generous benefactor to the infant seat of learning, having given, in 1714 and 1716, over three hundred books valued at one hundred pounds, and having sent in the years following goods which raised his total benefactions to about twenty-five hundred dollars. This seems now a small sum, considering the fame that his gifts brought him, but from contemporary standards his benefactions were princely.[5]

Edwards' father states that Jonathan had "a very good name at

[3] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 200.

[4] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, pp. 28-30.

[5] The University Library has the draft of the letter of thanks sent to him by the Trustees in October, 1717. Its account of the birth of "the babe"—Yale College—is very quaint: "The affair of our School hath been in a Condition of Pregnancy: Painfull with a witness have been the Throwes thereof in this General Assembly; But We just now hear, that after the Violent Pangs threatening the Very life of the Babe, Divine Providence as a kind Obstetrix hath mercifully brought the Babe into the World, & behold A Man-child is born, whereat We all Rejoyce, ..." Governor Yale's father was for a few years a resident of New Haven as a member of the family of his stepfather, Governor Theophilus Eaton.

Wethersfield, both as to his carriage and his learning,"[6] and that this reputation was carried back to New Haven is shown by a letter from Rector Cutler referring to "his promising abilities and advances in learning."[7] But better than either of these testimonies to the good use he was making of his time, is the following letter[8] from the youth of sixteen to his father, which throws light on the early years at Yale:

New Haven, July 21, 1719.

Ever honoured Sir,

I received, with two books, a letter from yourself, bearing the date of July 7th; and therein I received with the greatest gratitude, your most wholesome advice and counsel; and I hope I shall, God helping me, use my utmost endeavours to put the same in practice. I am sensible of the preciousness of my time, and am resolved it shall not be through any neglect of mine, if it slips without the greatest advantage. I take very great content under my present tuition, as all the rest of the scholars seem to do under theirs. Mr. Cutler is extraordinarily courteous to us, has a very good spirit of government, keeps the school in excellent order, seems to increase in learning, is loved and respected by all who are under him, and when he is spoken of in the school or town, he generally has the title of President. The scholars all live in very good peace with the people of the town, and there is not a word said about our former carryings on, except now and then by aunt Mather. I have diligently searched into the circumstances of Stiles's examination, which was very short, and as far as I can understand was to no other advantage than that he was examined in Tully's Orations; in which, though he had never construed before he came to New-Haven, yet he committed no error in that or any other book, whether Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, except in Virgil, wherein he could not tell the *Preteritum* of *Requiesco*. He is very well treated among the scholars, and accepted in the college as a member of it by every body, and also as a freshman; neither as I think, is he inferior as to learning, to any of his classmates. I have enquired of Mr. Cutler, what books we shall have need of the next year. He answered he would have me get against that time, Alstead's Geometry and Gassendus' Astronomy; with which I would intreat you to get a pair of dividers, or mathematician's compasses, and a scale, which are absolutely necessary in order to learning mathematics; and also, the Art of Thinking, which, I am persuaded, would be no less profitable, than the other necessary, to me, who am

Your most dutiful Son,

Jonathan Edwards.

P. S. What we give a week for our board, is £0. 5s. 0d.

[6] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, pp. 28-30. Letter of January 27, 1718.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31. Letter of June 30, 1719.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

Only a month prior to the writing of this letter the subject of this sketch seems to have been given an opportunity to show his business capacity by being elected College Butler, an office sometimes held in the early days by an undergraduate. Here is the Trustees' minute of appointment: "We choose & appoint Edwards Jun^{r}. to ye office of Butler, but if he shal not see meet to accept then the Rector & Tutor to appoint meet person to that office till farther order of trustees."[9]

His undergraduate days[10] were marked by deep religious experiences. He became conscious, to use his own beautiful phrase, of "an inward sweet delight in God." He started the habit of keeping careful notes of his reading and thinking, a practice to which he later attributed much of his power. The titles of his notebooks indicate his major interests at this time—"The Mind," "Natural Science," "The Scriptures," and "Miscellanies." But, probably, the greatest single college influence came from reading Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, a copy of which had been given to the Library by Elihu Yale, in 1714. He stated that he was "enjoying a far higher pleasure in the perusal of its pages, than the most greedy miser finds, when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold, from some newly discovered treasure."[11] That his scholarship was of the highest rank is shown by the fact that he was appointed to deliver at graduation the Salutatory address, then given to the first scholar of a class.[12] His contemporary biographer, Dr. Hopkins, states that Edwards in later life spent regularly thirteen hours a day "in close study."[13] That this capacity for continuous application to intellectual work went back to his college days is undoubted.

[9] MS. Trustees' Records for June 24, 1719.

[10] The simple conditions at Yale in Edwards' time are shown by the fact that at the Commencement meeting in his Junior year the scale of charges adopted was as follows: tuition, thirty shillings; room rent, twenty shillings; weekly rate for "diet, sweeping and making beds," four shillings and four pence; and diploma fee, twenty shillings. Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 203.

[11] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, p. 587.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 58. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 591, footnote.

His father's unpublished journal contains several references to Jonathan's college course. The following are worth quoting:

Sept^{t}: 10 [1718] I pd M^{r} Sam^{l} Smith Jun^{r} a 20^{sh} Bill for Instructing Jonath: in the Collegiate School.
Sept^{r}. 12th / [1720] I paid to M^{r} Cutler 20^{sh} for Jonathans Taking his Degree—ye same Day I pd M^{r} Russell of Branford . . . . for ye Commencem. Dinner. . . . .[14]

He remained for two years at Yale after taking his first degree, pursuing further studies in theology. At this time, and immediately after leaving New Haven, he prepared seventy "Resolutions," of which number sixty-three is the well-known

On the supposition, that there never was to be but one individual in the world, at any one time, who was properly a complete christian, in all respects of a right stamp, having christianity always shining in its true lustre, and appearing excellent and lovely, from whatever part and under whatever character viewed: *Resolved,* To act just as I would do, if I strove with all my might to be that one, who should live in my time.[15]

His connection with the College was to be rounded out by two years of service as tutor. It is evident that the initiation into this experience was not an altogether pleasant one. Edwards' mind was centered on other things than drilling undergraduates in the fixed curriculum of this period. He refers to his feelings in his journal:

Saturday-Night, June 6. This Week has been a remarkable Week with me with Respect to Despondencies, Fears, Perplexities, Multitudes of Cares and Distractions of Mind; being the Week I came hither to *New-Haven,* in order to entrance upon the Office of Tutor of the College. I have now abundant Reason to be convinced of the Troublesomeness and Vexation of the World, and that it never will be another Kind of World.[16]

But in spite of his lack of enthusiasm for this work he was successful in it. President Stiles is our authority:

The Honourable William Smith, the Honourable Daniel Edwards, and the Rev. President Edwards, were the pillar Tutors, and the glory of the College, at the critical period, between Rector Cutler and Rector Williams. Their tutorial renown was great and excellent. They filled and sustained their offices, with great

[14] Manuscript in possession of Mr. Starr Murphy, of New York.
[15] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards,* p. 72.
[16] *The Life of the Late Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards,* 1765, p. 20.

ability, dignity, and honour. For the honour of literature, these things ought not to be forgotten.[17]

Yes, these things ought not to be forgotten. Yalensians should always remember with special pride that one of the greatest of modern thinkers spent eight of the most formative years of his life at their College.

From 1727 to 1750 he was pastor of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts. The early part of his ministry here was characterized by a remarkable revival, nearly three hundred persons being added to the church during a single period of six months. There was another religious movement known as the "Great Awakening" from 1739 to 1740. In this he took a leading part. It was accompanied in many cases by certain extreme manifestations on the part of the converted, such as convulsions, swoonings, and outcries. These created much criticism, but Edwards appeared as their defender, maintaining that they were merely incidental results, not the "distinguishing marks" of true conversion. The bitterness of feeling caused by this discussion, followed as it was by various differences of opinion between him and his parish regarding baptism, the Lord's Supper, and questions of church discipline, resulted in his dismissal by a council, which voted ten to nine against him, and was supported by the congregation by vote of two hundred to twenty-three. The great soul of Edwards was equal to the emergency. Declining parishes in other parts of America and in Scotland, he went as missionary to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, where he preached through an interpreter. In 1758 he accepted the presidency of Princeton College, but died only thirty-four days[18] after assuming his new duties. The years in Northampton were marked by the deepest religious influence of his preaching—in connection with the "Great Awakening"—while the sojourn in Stockbridge was the period of his most important literary activity.

[17] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, p. 96.
[18] Fisher, *Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Divinity School of Yale College*, p. 28.

His wife was Sarah Pierpont, daughter of Rev. James Pierpont, one of the ten founders of the College. She was a woman of rare gifts of mind and character. As a result of the union of these two noble souls there has been brought into the world a group of descendants[19] in various generations that can hardly be equaled for distinction, including three presidents of Yale—both Dwights and Woolsey.

Among the best known of Edwards' voluminous writings are: *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections, An Account of the Life of Rev. David Brainerd,* and *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of Freedom of Will.* Daniel Webster declared his conviction that the last named work was "the greatest achievement of the human intellect."[20]

In these and other books he emphasized four things that represented a distinct departure from the inherited Calvinism of his day: the sinner's possession of ability to do God's will, the definition of virtue as disinterested benevolence, the assertion that the Almighty's acts both in salvation and punishment were actuated by the single principle of love for the world, and representation of "the preservation of identity in the individual and of unity in the race as the effect of a divine constitution which was a constantly renewed manifestation of creative activity."[21] The Sovereignty of God was the great truth to which he was constantly recurring. It was this that made him so opposed to every form of Arminianism. In his *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue,* which he found in the beauty and harmony of moral qualities, we see him at his best. Unfortunately most people forget that Edwards was a preacher of morality and of mystic devotion to Christ, and a man of singularly sweet, pure, and spiritual nature. They associate him only with "hell-fire" sermons, and especially with his *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.*

Professor Dexter has summed up the position of Edwards in these words: "the most eminent graduate of the College, the greatest

[19] See Winship, *Jukes-Edwards, passim.*
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 17.
[21] Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States,* pp. 285-286.

theologian of his century, the ablest metaphysician of the period between Leibnitz and Kant."[22] Sir James Mackintosh called him "a most extraordinary man," and stated that "in power of subtle argument he was perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men." Dugald Stewart's words are equally impressive: "There is, however, *one* Metaphysician, of whom America has to boast, who, in logical acuteness and subtlety, does not yield to any disputant bred in the universities of Europe. I need not say that I allude to Jonathan Edwards."[23]

The famous Scotch preacher and teacher, Dr. Chalmers, wrote:

> I have long esteemed him as the greatest of theologians; combining in a degree that is quite unexampled, the profoundly intellectual with the devotedly spiritual and sacred, and realizing in his own person a most rare, yet most beautiful, harmony between the simplicity of the Christian pastor on the one hand, and on the other, all the strength and prowess of a giant in philosophy; so as at once to minister, from Sabbath to Sabbath, and with the most blessed effect, to the hearers of his plain congregation, and yet in the high field of authorship to have traversed in a way, that none had ever done before him, the most inaccessible places, and achieved such a mastery as had never till his time been realized, over the most arduous difficulties of our science. There is no European Divine to whom I make such frequent appeals in my class rooms as I do to Edwards.[24]

These are unimpeachable testimonies[25] as to Edwards' permanent position in the world of thought.

His memorials at Yale are two portraits (of which one is a copy of the contemporary painting by Smibert), a window in Battell Chapel, and West Divinity Hall, renamed Edwards Hall by vote of the Corporation in 1908. Important Edwards papers, over a thousand in number, are deposited in the University Library, and are a priceless possession. They have been described by Professor Dexter in a recent paper before the Massachusetts Historical Society. Of the many lives, that by Dr. Sereno Dwight is considered the fullest; that

[22] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 218.
[23] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, p. 603.
[24] Sprague, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 334.
[25] For the opinions of Leslie Stephen, Frederick Maurice, and others, see MacCracken, *The Hall of Fame*, pp. 216-217. Fichte's estimate is given in Professor Fisher's valuable address at the Yale Bicentennial.

by Alexander V. G. Allen is the most suggestive and interesting for the average reader.

Stockbridge July 18, 1751

Dear Sir,

The accounts which I have lately received from Correspondents in Scotland, of the respect to me & my Family, which you have in various ways, testified, both by word & deed, may well deeply affect us with Gratitude, and excite our Admiration. And in the first Place, we have Reason to admire, and be most gratefully affected by, the Providence of God, which in the Time of our peculiar & uncommon Troubles, has appear'd for us in so wonderful & unexpected a manner; In that, when, according to an human view of Things, Nothing was to be expected but difficulties & straits; & Friends that were near at Hand, which we formerly should have expected most from, stood at the greatest distance, and seem'd to rejoyce at our Trouble, and to be ready, on every occasion to increase them; others, who are perfect strangers, that we never so much as heard of, and at so great a distance, are raised up, have most friendly Affections excited, & hearts enlarged towards us, to extend their kindness to our Relief & bountiful supply, even beyond the Ocean. How true in this Instance, does it appear to be, that God is, as He declares Himself in his word to be, an alsufficient & faithful God, and that his Promise never fails; that we need not fear to trust him in the way of obedience to Him; tho', according to an human Appearance, we seem to run the greatest ventures by cleaving to Him. In the next Place our Gratitude is due to his People, to whom He has given so much of his Spirit of Love and Kindness, and made the Instruments of his Bounty.— I would by this, dear Sir, in particular render Thanks to you; to whom they are due, in some Respects, in peculiar Manner.

I with my family, have for this two years past gone thro' many Troubles: But I hope the Lord has not forsaken us, nor suffered us to sink under our Trials. He has in many Respects exercised a Fatherly Care of us in our distresses. A door seems to be open'd for my further Improvement in the work of the ministry, in this Place: which is situated in the northwestern Frontier of New England, about 150 miles west from Boston, and about 36 miles southeast from Albany, on Hudson River, in the Province of New York. It is a Place where an Indian Mission has been for some time established, and a Church settled, made up partly of English & partly of Indians, formerly under the Pastoral Care of the Rev. Mr. John Sergeant; who died the Summer before last. I have been invited to take the Pastoral Charge here, and desired by the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, to undertake the Business of a Missionary, and this hence-forward is like to be the place of my settled Abode. There are

some things remarkable in divine Providence, that afford a Prospect of good things to be accomplished here for the Indians, and give Reason to hope that God has mercy in store for them particularly, that God so enlarging the Hearts of some Gentlemen in England to contribute of their substance for this End. Sir Peter Warren has lately given 700 L Sterling, that the annual Interest of it may be improved to this End, and particularly to promote the Instruction of the Mohawks here, (one of the Chief Tribes of Indians in North-America, about 50 of which, old & young, came down hither the last Fall to live here for the Sake of Instruction, at 80 miles distance from their proper Country) and the Rev. Mr. Isaac Hollis of High-Wycomb in Buckinghamshire, in Letters lately put, which I have sent has offered 180 Pounds Sterling *P annum*, for the support & Instruction of Indian children (Boys) in a Boarding School here, and also desires that if any Boys can be found of forward Genius, that they may be put to Learning, and have a Liberal Education, to fit Them for the work of the ministry; and promisses to be at the charge of it, over & above the forementioned 180 L Sterling P annum and besides Mr. Coram of London (who had been a correspondent of Mr. Sergeants in his Life-Time had laid a Plan of a Boarding School for the Education of Indian Girls here; and gave great Encouragement as to a sufficient subscription to be obtained in London for the building & supporting it. But He dying the last Spring, committed the care of the affair to the Rev. Mr. Chandler of London; who has undertaken it, and also the Society in London for the propagating the Gospel among the Indians in N-England and Parts adjacent, have lately manifested a disposition to expend liberally, to promote the Gospel here, as there shall be occasion, and the Governments of Massachusetts & Connecticut have done considerable for the Encouragement & support of the Mohawks here, and among other things done by this Province of the Massachusetts they have appointed a Committee to provide them a sufficiency of Land to settle on.

I shall have Reason, dear sir, much to value the Prayers of one who has so much of a Christian spirit, as you have Manifested towards me, and who has given so much evidence of a disposition to unmerited, disinterested Benevolence, I particularly desire your Prayers with regard to this important Business which I have now undertaken.

I conclude with fervent Prayers to the God of all Grace & Love, and Fountain of all Good, that He would abundantly reward you with the Blessings of his Goodness spiritual & temporal. And am Sir

your most obliged Friend
& humble servant

JONATHAN EDWARDS

P. S. I have here inclosed a copy of a Result of a late council at Northampton: and I shall order one of my Farewell Sermons, preach'd at Northampton to be put up at Boston, & conveyed to you.—a very small Testimony of gratitude.

Mr. Hogg.

This letter is of much historical value as showing Edwards' feeling at the undeserved treatment he had just received at Northampton and the great interest he had in the work of evangelizing the Indians. It breathes, throughout, a deeply religious spirit—an undying faith in God's Providence. It was written from Stockbridge shortly after his removal there to succeed a fellow Yalensian, the eminent missionary, Rev. John Sergeant (q.v.), in his work of Christian education.

The letter is marked on the back as answered "8th May 1752," about ten months after it was written. Edwards' letters bring large prices at autograph sales, both in England and America. This one was bought in London.

Samuel Hopkins

Class of 1741

Born, September 17, 1721; Died, December 20, 1803

Theologian and early Anti-Slavery Advocate

Samuel Hopkins, the founder of the theological system historically known as Hopkinsianism, was the oldest son of Captain Timothy Hopkins, a farmer of Waterbury, Connecticut. In his autobiography[1] he expresses special gratitude for the high religious and moral ideals that dominated the life of the family and of the community in which he was brought up. When fourteen he determined to prepare for college, which he did at a near-by parsonage, in accordance with the good custom of the time. He entered Yale in September, 1737, when sixteen years of age. His own testimony as to his manner of life as an undergraduate has been recorded:

> While a member of the college, I believe, I had the character of a sober, studious youth, and of a better scholar than the bigger half of the members of that society; and had the approbation of the governours of the college. I avoided the intimacy and the company of the openly vicious; and indeed kept but little company, being attentive to my studies.[2]

In his Senior year occurred the well-known visit of Whitefield to New Haven. This was followed by the preaching of Gilbert Tennent. As these "revivals" had a determining influence on Hopkins' career, his account of them is worth quoting:

> The members of college appeared to be universally awakened. A small number thought themselves christians before they came to college, and I believe were so. Several of these appeared with an extraordinary zeal, and concern for the members of college; and without paying regard to the distinctions of higher and lower classes, they visited every room in college, and discoursed freely and with the greatest plainness with each one; especially such whom they considered to be in an unconverted state, and who acknowledged themselves to be so, setting before them their danger, and exhorting them to repent, &c. . . . . The persons above mentioned, who thus

[1] West, *Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

distinguished themselves in zeal were two of them my classmates, Buell and Youngs.[3] The other was David Brainerd. I attended to the whole, and approved of all they said and did. But retained my hope that I was a christian, and had little or no conversation with these zealous men. At length Brainerd came into my room, I being there alone. . . . . In his conversation with me, he observed that he believed it impossible for a person to be converted and to be a real christian without feeling his heart, at sometimes at least, sensibly and greatly affected with the character of Christ, and strongly going after him; or to that purpose.—This observation struck conviction into my mind. I verily believed it to be true, and at the same time was conscious that I had never experienced any thing of this kind; and that I was a stranger to the exercise of real christianity. I then determined that no one should know from me, or any other way, if I could prevent it, that I was not a christian, until I should be converted: . . . . At length as I was in my closet one evening, while I was meditating, and in my devotions, a new and wonderful scene opened to my view. I had a sense of the being and presence of God, as I never had before; it being more of a reality, and more affecting and glorious, than I had ever before perceived. And the character of Jesus Christ the mediator came into view, and appeared such a reality, and so glorious; and the way of salvation by him so wise, important and desirable, that I was astonished at myself that I had never seen these things before, which were so plain, pleasing and wonderful.[4]

Tennent's preaching made Hopkins determine to enter the ministry. He planned to study theology with the former, but in the following summer, just before he was to take his degree, Jonathan Edwards (q.v.) appeared on the scene, and preached his famous sermon on "The Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God." This so deeply moved him that he resolved to be one of Edwards' students at Northampton, where he went after graduation. *Esther Burr's Journal* gives an interesting glimpse of him at this time:

Mr. Samuel Hopkins, who has just been graduated from New Haven College, and who pleads to study divinity with Mr. Edwards, came to our house to-day. He looked to find father at home, and is in some great trouble of mind. He told Mrs. Edwards he had intended to study theology with Mr. Gilbert Tennent of New Jersey, but when he heard Mr. Edwards preach at the New Haven Commencement, he changed his mind as to this, and has come hither eighty miles on horseback, from Waterbury in Connecticut. Our mother, who always undertakes to do in father's absence, what she thinks he would do were he at home, seeing her visitor so wretched and depressed, has been holding conversation with him on religion, and he seems in better spirits now. We girls, Jerusha, Mary and I, seeing his immense frame,

[3] Both of these entered the ministry. The first, Rev. Samuel Buell, was a clergyman of note.

[4] West, *Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins*, pp. 31-35.

his great honest face, and hearing his ponderous voice, have maliciously nick-named him "Old Sincerity."[5]

In 1743 he accepted a call to the Congregational Church in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and while settled there he took his Yale Master's degree, the thesis assigned him being *An Legis moralis violatio per Adamum posteros ejus affecisset.* He supported the affirmative.

He removed to Newport in 1770 and remained there in the work of the ministry until his death, except for three years of enforced absence when the British seized the town during the Revolutionary War.

Dr. Hopkins was not distinguished as a preacher, and is mainly known to posterity as a theologian. He was the founder of the dominant system of divinity in New England for two generations. In this field of thought his fame is exceeded by that of Edwards alone among Americans of the eighteenth century; and it should not be forgotten that, although Edwards was a much greater man, his thought became generally diffused through the systematic writings of his disciples, of whom Hopkins was the earliest, and the most distinguished of his day. President Stiles calls him "a great reasoner." His theology is now so much a thing of the past, and has been so far outgrown, that it is difficult for us to realize the former authority of his utterances. In West's Introduction to Hopkins' quaint *Sketches* occurs this tribute to the *System of Divinity,* which indicates its point of view and its reputation at the time:

> Nowhere can the reader find the doctrines of the sacred writers so clearly drawn out to view, so justly arranged, and so fully and unanswerably vindicated as in this:—Nor is there, probably, any other human composition extant, from which so good an understanding may be obtained of the gospel-plan of salvation by Christ—the terms on which this salvation may be had—and, the temper and character necessary to the enjoyment of it. Here the reader finds those doctrines, which are generally most unwelcome to the human heart—such as those, of the total moral depravity of human nature—the absolute decrees of God—particular election—

[5] Rankin, *Esther Burr's Journal,* December, 1741, p. 11. The book gives a charming picture of old New England life. It is difficult to determine to what extent the "author and editor" has drawn on his imagination for the incidents recorded.

universal divine providence and agency—and the distinguishing doctrines of *grace*, all treated with great perspicuity and clearness; and, supported by a strength of argument, both from reason and the holy scriptures, which, it is thought, will forever exceed the ability of opposers to answer or overthrow. No human composition, it is apprehended, can be read with greater profit, by students in divinity, than these volumes.[6]

His principal modification of the Calvinistic theology came from his fortunate conclusion that the essence of sin is derived from the disposition and intention of the individual mind, and that consequently sinners are free moral agents.

He took the side of the colonies in the Revolution, was deeply interested in the evangelization of the Indians, and was known for the breadth of his philanthropy. He should be specially remembered for being among the earliest and most earnest opponents of the Slave Trade. This is evidenced in a documentary way by *A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans;* showing it to be the duty of the American states to emancipate all their African slaves. It was published in 1776. He freed the negroes belonging to him, and one of his biographers claims that he "originated the idea of sending the liberated slaves to Africa to act as agents of civilization."[7] His leadership in the cause of emancipation led to the early passing of laws favorable to negroes in Rhode Island. It is interesting in this connection to remember that the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made Dr. Hopkins the hero of one of her best-known novels, *The Minister's Wooing.*

His humanitarianism deeply influenced the founder of American Unitarianism—William Ellery Channing. Professor Fisher in his address at the Yale Bicentennial truly said that "Hopkins was revered by all for the depth of his piety and the exalted purity and

[6] West, *Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins,* Introduction.

[7] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. III, p. 258. *Cf.* the following from *Esther Burr's Journal* for June, 1743: "Rev. Samuel Hopkins, my father's student in theology, has some very strong opinions against slavery. He once said to my father, that he believed God would yet overrule for his glory, the coming of the blacks to this country; quoting what Joseph said, 'Ye meant it for evil, but God meant it for good.' He has already working in his great mind, the beginning of an effort to send Christianized negroes back to Africa. We girls have changed his nickname to 'Old Benevolence'; though we all have for him the greatest respect. But, we must have something to make sport about among ourselves."

benevolence of his character." He was the first biographer of Jonathan Edwards, and published many theological works. He had the rare honor of having these collected fifty years after his death and republished in a three-volume edition, with an excellent memoir by Professor Park.

The main source of information about his life is his autobiography, published by Dr. West, in 1808, with the title *Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D.*

Newport, Oct. 14, —99

Dear Sir

This day I received yours of /[8] 5th inst. We have been wanting to hear from you, and to hear that you propose to make us a visit soon is more than we expected. It has given us pleasure, and more than made up for / shortness of your letter. Mrs. Hopkins has raised expectation that Mrs. Hart will come with you.

Through divine mercy we are comfortable at present. I am labouring under infirmity and / decrepitude of old age; but am able to walk to / meeting house and preach both parts of / day, and my people say they can hear and understand me.

I should be gratified if you could bring with you / constitution of / Connecticut missionary Society, and any other writings which respect that affair; for I have seen nothing of that kind in print as yet. I also am in want of / latest catalogue of Yale College. Think it probable one was printed this year. We should be glad to get a copy of Dr. Trumbul's sermons lately printed.

Mrs. Hopkins and I always join most cordially in love to you, Mrs. Hart, and all yours.

S. Hopkins

Rev. Levi Hart

P. S. Last week I received a letter from Mr. Andrew Fuller of Kettering in England, dated Aug. 12-99 in which he says, "The Ship Duff bound for / South Seas with a fresh cargo of Missionaries, we hear this week, is taken by / French. May / Lord overrule it for good."

This is to go by Mr. Phillips but as he appears a *slow man* perhaps it will not reach you in season

[8] This sign (/), used by Dr. Hopkins, stands for ye.

Dr. Hart, to whom this letter was addressed, was a graduate of Yale in the Class of 1760, and, according to Professor Dexter, was "easily one of the most prominent and influential ministers of his generation."

The request for "the latest Catalogue of Yale" refers to the *Catalogue of Officers and Graduates,* published in 1799. This was a triennial publication from 1724 until 1904, when it was changed to the "Quinquennial." Annual catalogues giving information regarding courses of instruction did not appear until 1822.

The letter contains an interesting reference to Andrew Fuller, one of the most distinguished of English theologians, and one who acknowledged his special obligations to Hopkins' master, Jonathan Edwards.

David Brainerd

Class of 1743

Born, April 20, 1718; Died, October 9, 1747

Missionary to the Indians

David Brainerd, one of the most inspiring figures in American missionary history, and the man who is specially credited with starting the traditions of religious activity among Yale undergraduates, was born in Haddam, Connecticut. His father was a respected citizen, prominent in colony affairs. The son seems to have been deeply interested in religion from childhood. He entered Yale in 1739, but was obliged to be absent for much of Freshman year as the strain of his ambition for high scholarship was more than his health could bear. He was dismissed as a Junior for active identification with the religious movement under Whitefield and his associates. In spite of the genuine fervor of these "New Light" adherents there were many extremes identified with their revival. Among these was their frequent denunciation of good Christian ministers, calling them unconverted hypocrites, and applying to them other slanderous epithets. As a result, at the Commencement meeting of the Yale Corporation, in 1741, the following vote was passed:

> Voted, that if any Student of this College shall directly or indirectly say, that the Rector, either of the Trustees or Tutors are hypocrites, carnal or unconverted men, he shall for the first offence make a public confession in the Hall, and for the second offence be expelled.[1]

That Whitefield was specially interested in the Yale audience is shown by a reference in his journal for October 23-27, 1740, in which we read that he "spoke very closely to the students, and showed the dreadful ill consequences of an unconverted ministry." Brainerd was

[1] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 663. Four years later (1745) there was published *The Declaration of the Rectors and Tutors of Yale College in New-Haven, against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, His Principles and Designs.*

deeply impressed by these meetings. The religious history of the College contains no finer example of the Christian's sense of responsibility for his fellows than that which he now showed. To use a modern phrase current in evangelical circles, he became a devoted "personal worker," urging his friends to consecrate themselves more fully to the cause of Christ. On this account he may be considered the forerunner of the student religious movement of a century and a half later, which developed into the Young Men's Christian Association.[2] His activity had a most beneficent effect on the lives of Samuel Hopkins[3] (q.v.) and others. But like many a youthful enthusiast, he went to extremes, and as a result of referring disrespectfully to the religious state of one of the tutors, he was dismissed from college, the excuse being the vote given above.

Many people petitioned the Faculty for a revocation of their edict, but President Clap was obdurate. Finally, the following year, Brainerd, "with the advise of Christian friends," drew up and forwarded the following petition to the college authorities. It is given in full as an interesting Yale document, and as a first-hand statement of the facts in the case:

Whereas I have said before several persons, concerning Mr. Whittelsey, one of the tutors of Yale College, that I did not believe he had any more grace than the chair I then leaned upon; I humbly confess, that herein I have sinned against God, and acted contrary to the rules of his word, and have injured Mr. Whittelsey. I had no right to make thus free with his character; and had no just reason to say as I did concerning him. My fault herein was the more aggravated, in that I said this concerning one who was so much my superiour, and one whom I was obliged to treat with special respect and honour, by reason of the relation I stood in to him in the college. Such a manner of behaviour, I confess did not become a christian; it was taking too much upon me, and did not savour of that humble respect, which I ought to have expressed towards Mr. Whittelsey. I have long since been convinced of the falseness of those apprehensions, by which I then justified such a conduct. I have often reflected on this act with grief; I hope, on account of the

[2] Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 25.

[3] "It seems that Mr. Brainerd was so concerned for the students, that he went from room to room talking and praying with them all, whether they had made a profession of faith or not. Indeed, Mr. Samuel Hopkins told my father that it was David Brainerd's visit to his room that convinced him that he himself was not a Christian, though he was even then intending to study for the ministry." *Esther Burr's Journal*, p. 27.

sin of it: and am willing to lie low, and be abased before God and man for it. I humbly ask the forgiveness of the governors of the college, and of the whole society; but of Mr. Whittelsey in particular. And whereas I have been accused by one person of saying concerning the reverend rector of Yale College, that I wondered he did not expect to drop down dead for fining the scholars that followed Mr. Tennent to Milford; I seriously profess, that I do not remember my saying anything to this purpose. But if I did, which I am not certain I did not, I utterly condemn it, and detest all such kind of behaviour; and especially in an under-graduate towards the rector. And I now appear to judge and condemn myself for going once to the separate meeting in New-Haven, a little before I was expelled, though the rector had refused to give me leave. For this I humbly ask the rector's forgiveness. And whether the governors of the college shall ever see cause to remove the academical censure I lie under, or no, or to admit me to the privileges I desire; yet I am willing to appear, if they think fit, openly to own, and to humble myself for those things I have herein confessed.[4]

It was generally thought that this constituted an ample apology, but Brainerd was never readmitted or given his degree, although he probably could have received it had he been willing to complete an additional year of resident work. That he is not enrolled among Yale's graduates seems unfortunate in view of his service as a missionary pioneer, and of the fact that he was among the highest scholars in his class. He made a final effort for reinstatement by coming to New Haven at the time his class was to graduate. Jonathan Edwards has left us an account of this attempted reconciliation, of which the following is an extract:

I was witness to the very christian spirit which Brainerd showed at that time; being then at New Haven, and one whom he thought fit to consult on that occasion. There truly appeared in him a great degree of calmness and humility; without the least appearance of rising of spirit for any ill-treatment which he supposed he had suffered, or the least backwardness to abase himself before those, who, as he thought, had wronged him. . . . . He desired his degree, as he thought it would tend to his being more extensively useful; but still, when he was denied it, he manifested no disappointment nor resentment.[5]

And so Brainerd was disappointed, and Yale put its stamp of disapproval upon him. But it could not take away the spiritual experience which the college revival had given him. The action of

[4] Edwards, *An Account of the Life of Rev. David Brainerd*, p. 110.
[5] Dwight, *Life of President Edwards*, p. 203.

Rector Clap was not an isolated instance. His extreme tendency in cases of discipline involving religious matters was similarly shown a few years later (1745), when two students by name of Cleaveland were expelled for attending worship in a private house, instead of at the regular church, and for refusing to say that they "had violated the laws of God, of the Colony, and of the College" in so doing![6]

On leaving college Brainerd studied divinity, and was licensed to preach in 1742. Missionary work among the Indians had long attracted him, so he promptly accepted the invitation extended by the Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to be one of the two missionaries first selected for this work. Presidents Dickinson and Burr of the College of New Jersey (Princeton)—both Yale graduates—were specially instrumental in securing the society's interest in the Indians.[7] There is also ground for belief[8] that Brainerd's expulsion from Yale was an important contributing cause of the founding of Princeton, in which they were active participants.

His missionary work, after an early and brief experience at Kent, Connecticut, was carried on at the village of Kaunameek, near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, but after a year he moved to New Jersey, where his most important service was rendered. His published journals—*Mirabilia Dei apud Indicos* and *Divine Grace Displayed*—told of his remarkable success in converting and redeeming the natives to honorable careers, especially at Crossweeksung, near Freehold, New Jersey. His journals made at the time a deep impression, and in spite of their occasionally morbid and despondent tendency,[9] have rightly

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 771.

[7] *History of the First Church in Newark*, p. 164.

[8] Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 55, quoting Field's *Genealogy of the Brainerd Family*, p. 265. Cf. *Esther Burr's Journal*, p. 26.

[9] Compare the following extract: "Was so overwhelmed with dejection, that I knew not how to live. I longed for death exceedingly: my soul was *sunk into deep waters*, and *the floods* were ready to *drown me*. I was so much oppressed, that my soul was in a kind of horror; could not keep my thoughts fixed in prayer, for the space of one minute, without fluttering and distraction; and was exceedingly ashamed, that I did not live to God. I had no distressing doubt about my own state; but would have cheerfully ventured (as far as I could possibly know) into eternity. While I was going to preach to the Indians, my soul was in anguish; I was so overborne with discouragement, that I despaired of doing any good, and was driven to my wit's-end; I knew nothing what to say, nor what course to take." Edwards, *Brainerd*, p. 184.

held their place in religious literature as the expression of the inner life of a deeply spiritual nature.

Here are some characteristic quotations:

Forks of Delaware, July 31, 1744.

Certainly the greatest, the noblest pleasure of intelligent creatures must result from their acquaintance with the blessed God, and with their own rational and immortal souls. O, how divinely sweet and entertaining is it, to look into our own souls, when we can find all our powers and passions united and engaged in pursuit after God; our whole souls longing and passionately breathing after a conformity to him, and the full enjoyment of him! Verily no hours pass away with so much divine pleasure, as those spent in communing with God and our own hearts. O, how sweet is a spirit of devotion, a spirit of seriousness and divine solemnity, a spirit of gospel simplicity, love and tenderness! O, how desirable, and how profitable to the christian life, is a spirit of holy watchfulness, and godly jealousy over ourselves; when our souls are afraid of nothing so much as that we shall grieve and offend the blessed God, whom at such times we apprehend, or at least hope, to be a *Father and Friend;* whom we then love and long to *please,* rather than to be *happy* ourselves; or at least we delight to derive our happiness *from* pleasing and glorifying him! Surely this is a pious temper, worthy of the highest ambition and closest pursuit of intelligent creatures and holy christians.

Oct. 2. My soul was this day, at turns, sweetly set on God: I longed to be *with him,* that I might *behold his glory.* I felt sweetly disposed to commit all to him, even my dearest friends, my dearest flock, my absent brother, and all my concerns for time and eternity. O that *his kingdom* might come in the world; that they might all love and glorify him, for what he is in himself; and that the blessed Redeemer might "see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied!" *Oh, come Lord Jesus, come quickly! Amen.*[10]

Brainerd had the true spirit of the modern missionary in that he demanded a change and improvement of life as the only real evidence of Christian faith. He has left a summary of the result of his labors among the Indians of a New Jersey tribe:

6thly and lastly, The *effects* of this work have likewise been very remarkable. I doubt not but that many of these people have gained more *doctrinal* knowledge of divine truths, since I first visited them in June last, than could have been instilled into their minds by the most diligent use of proper and instructive means for whole *years* together, without such a divine influence. Their Pagan notions and *idolatrous* practices, seem to be entirely abandoned in these parts. They are regulated, and appear regularly disposed in the affairs of *marriage;* an instance whereof I have given in my Journal of August 14. They seem generally divorced

[10] Edwards, *Brainerd,* p. 159.

from *drunkenness*, their darling vice, the "sin that easily besets them"; so that I do not know of more than two or three who have been my *steady hearers*, that have drunk to excess since I first visited them; although before it was common for some or other of them to be drunk almost every day: and some of them seem now to fear this sin in particular, more than death itself. A principle of honesty and justice, appears in many of them; and they seem concerned to discharge their old debts, which they have neglected, and perhaps scarcely thought of for years past. Their manner of living, is much more *decent* and *comfortable* than formerly, having now the benefit of that money which they used to consume upon strong drink. *Love* seems to reign among them, especially those who have given evidences of having passed a saving change: and I never saw any appearance of *bitterness* or *censoriousness* in these, nor any disposition to "esteem themselves better than others," who had not received the like mercy.[11]

His health—never robust—broke down completely from his privations and labors, and in 1747 he had to give up his work, as he was a sufferer from acute consumption. He went to Northampton, to the home of Jonathan Edwards, whose daughter he was engaged to marry, and there he died. His life had been a brief one—less than thirty years—but it was lived with such a high sense of Christian devotion that the memory of it is still an inspiration to thousands. Edwards paid him a high tribute when he said that he "never knew his equal of his age and standing, for clear, accurate notions of the nature and essence of true religion. . . . ."[12] The eternal thing about him was his dauntless spirit of self-sacrifice in a great cause. He gladly gave up every comfort and suffered every kind of privation that he might preach the gospel to the natives of North America.

Brainerd's life has been often written. The best account is in Dr. Sereno Dwight's edition of Edwards' *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd.* It is interesting as an evidence of his far-reaching influence to know that the original life by Edwards was abridged by John Wesley and published in England. An international authority on the history of missions, after stating that "no other missionary, perhaps, has proven such a stimulus to seekers after holiness," adds regarding this volume, "nor has any other biography led so many in every land to

[11] Edwards, *Brainerd*, p. 251.
[12] Quoted in Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors*, under Brainerd.

enter upon mission work."[13] Contemporaries and later historians have united in bearing witness to the beauty of his character and the usefulness of his work. As an example a Scotch emigrant out of sympathy with most missionary labors may be quoted. Writing in 1751, he refers to Brainerd as "the only Minister who faithfully performed the services of an Indian Missionary."[14] A tribute of special Yale interest is that given in the journal of Jonathan Edwards' daughter, under date of September 14, 1743:

> Mr. David Brainerd should have graduated at New Haven College this day. Mr. Edwards, my father, is feeling much hurt because President Clap and the Trustees have treated Mr. Brainerd so shabbily and cruelly. My father says, as I think, New Haven College has lost the brightest jewel she will ever wear in her crown.[15]

1774.

Stockbridge april 27. Visited my People, who were mostly remov'd to this place, for farther Instruction under the Ministry of the Rev^{r} M^{r} Sergeant. Spent most of the day with them, instructing, and giving them Serious Advice. They appear'd very Glad to See me, after a Season of absence from them, and very attentive to, and thankfull for my Advice.

April 29. Having reciev'd orders from the Gentlemen commanding Mission to go to a Tribe of Indians at Delaware River, I this day preached to, and took my leave of my People here, with whom I Spent the last year. Was affected at parting with those that I had Spent So much time, and pains to instruct; and observ'd Some affection in 'em.

Caunaumeek May 1st Disposed of my affairs here, took leave of the few Indians that were not remov'd to Stockbridge, and Set out for Delaware-River.—

Minnisink May 10. After a tedious Journey of more than 140 miles from Caunaumeek, I Came to this place, and near night met, and discours'd with Some few Indians.—

May 11. Visited the Indian-Settlement, and address'd their King in a friendly manner first, and afterward, others, but they appear'd very Jealous, and reserv'd. After Some loving Discourse to the King, and attempts to

[13] Professor Harlan P. Beach (B.A. 1878) in Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 289.
[14] Douglass, *A Summary, Historical and Political*, etc., Vol. II, p. 118.
[15] Rankin, *Esther Burr's Journal*, p. 26. Cf. footnote 5 under Hopkins.

Contract a friendship with him, I told him I had a Desire for his Comfort and happiness, to teach him the Christian Religion,

In the absence of an autograph of Brainerd, the above facsimile of two pages from his missionary diary will be of interest. The original is in the University Library, being the gift of Mrs. H. A. Stillman, of Hartford. The section reproduced is of interest as referring to his departure from Stockbridge to New Jersey. In the author's collection is a letter written to Brainerd the previous year by Abigail Horton, of New Haven.

The signature exhibited in Memorial Hall is reproduced from a letter in Sparks' *American Biography,* Volume VIII, p. 258.

Samuel Seabury

Class of 1748

Born, November 30, 1729; Died, February 25, 1796
First Bishop of the American Episcopal Church

The Episcopal Church existed in America long before Bishop Seabury's time, but it was only with him, and largely as a result of his labors, that it became a self-perpetuating institution with an organic life of its own. He was very conservative and, perhaps, somewhat vain, but he was a man of such ability, energy, character, and strength of conviction that he commands our respect. It is cause for regret that the information regarding his early education and college life is so meager.

The good Bishop's father had been a Congregational preacher, but he was ordained in the Church of England soon after his son's birth, which took place in Goshen, Connecticut. It is worthy of remark that in spite of the strong Congregational atmosphere at Yale at this time,[1] several of the leading Episcopal clergymen of the Revolutionary period were in college with Seabury, and doubtless gave him agreeable companionship, although he lived off what is now called the Campus.[2] Among them were Thomas Chandler (B.A. 1745), Jeremiah Leaming (B.A. 1745), and John Ogilvie (B.A. 1748), all honorary Doctors of Divinity of Columbia College and men whose reputation crossed the Atlantic.

It is worthy of remark in this connection that Seabury's father had been a Yale student a quarter of a century earlier but left to enter Harvard in the confusion which followed Rector Cutler's declaring for Episcopacy.[3]

[1] In 1768 one of the Commencement theses to be defended was *Episcopus Americanus civilem Libertatem in magnum periculum reducet.*
[2] Clap, MS. "College Memories," pp. 11, 15.
[3] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* Vol. V, p. 149.

In the author's collection is an autograph letter from James Wadsworth to his son of the same name, a classmate of Seabury, and later a member of the Continental Congress. It is dated July 1, 1746, when they were both finishing their Sophomore year. The advice it gives a young collegian of this period is worth reprinting. "Se that you Improve your time well, that you get a stock of learning, that your conuersation be exemplary, Regulate your expenses with prudence, show the greatest defference to the Governours of the Coledge, be always ready to obey them, transgress none of the Laws of the Society whereof you are a member, be kinde & respetfull to all, and in one word let your conuersation be such as becoms the Gospel."

In his Senior year the beginnings of modern Yale were made by the digging of the cellar for the present Connecticut Hall, erected from the proceeds of a lottery sanctioned by the General Assembly. The character of life at the College is reflected by a contemporary memorandum regarding Commons in the spring and winter of 1741. The quantity of articles assigned to four students is thus given by Professor Dexter: "for breakfast, one loaf of bread; for dinner, one loaf of bread, 2½ pounds of beef, or other meat, seven or eight pennyworth of sauce, one quart of beer; for supper, an apple-pie (made of 1¾ pounds of dough, ¼ pound of hogs fat [lard], two ounces of sugar, and ½ peck of apples), one quart of beer."[4] The cost of tuition was only four shillings a quarter. There was no room rent[5] but merely a charge for "sweeping" of from seven to eight pence a week. Such was Yale's simple material condition at the time. Yet in spite of poverty, matters were conducted in a manner befitting an academic institution, as shown by this delightfully condescending reference to the Commencement exercises of Seabury's class in an old diary recently published in Massachusetts: "Wen 14 Commencement, all Things were carried on with utmost decency, they came very little behind Cambridge itself."[6]

[4] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 141.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[6] Diary of Joseph Emerson, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, December,

There is a rare broadside in the University Library containing two undergraduate poems on the death just after Commencement, 1748, of Seabury's fellow student, William Sumner. One of these, by Nathaniel Porter, contains these lines, the earliest reference to Yale in undergraduate verse which the author has found:

> A Godly pious Life at *Yale*, he lead
> And every beating Breast laments [the dead]
> *Yale* feels the Loss, tho' Deathless [is his] Name,
> Yet ev'ry Pillar Mourns this Son of Fame,

Seabury returned for his Master's degree, as was customary, three years after his graduation. He supported the affirmative of the thesis *An mosaica, quoad Religionem, eadem fuerit cum Institutione typica primitus post Lapsum, patefacta.* The Bishop's strong Episcopal tendencies did not make the atmosphere of eighteenth century Yale very congenial to him. So much was this the case that he was unwilling to send his son to the College. He was instrumental in founding the Episcopal Academy, located in Cheshire, for which, however, a collegiate charter could not be secured.[7]

After graduation he studied medicine and theology, and served as a lay reader on Long Island. He continued his studies in Edinburgh, where he secured Episcopal ordination in 1753, the long voyage being necessary as there was no bishop in America until Seabury himself was consecrated after the Revolution. He returned to the colonies as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—the "S. P. G."—and served various stations in New Jersey and Long Island until 1766, when he became rector of a church in Westchester, New York. Here his small clerical stipend was supplemented by teaching school and practicing medicine.

During the Revolution he was one of the ablest supporters of the

1910, p. 266. Compare this with the following account written by a Scotch emigrant who visited New Haven at about the time of Seabury's graduation (Vol. II, p. 182, William Douglass, *Summary*). "A very considerable Produce in the Colony of Connecticut is a Seminary of Learning, or Schola Illustris, called a Collegiate College, and when Professors in several Sciences are endowed, it will be called an University; this Plant is vigorous and thriving, under the Cultivation of the present President, the worthy Reverend Mr. Clap."

[7] Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury*, pp. 439, 445.

mother country, and was chaplain of the King's American Regiment commanded by another prominent Yale graduate, Colonel Edmund Fanning (q.v.). To be a loyalist in New England or on its borders in those days required some independence and courage, especially when a man was as outspoken as Seabury in his opposition to the War of Independence and in his criticisms of the Continental Congress. The following quotation from the memorial which he later presented to "the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury," praying for a pension, will give some idea of the feeling of the times. It is of interest because of its references to New Haven:

That after some time your Memorialist hearing of no further threat ventured home, & continued unmolested, though occasionally reviled by particular people for not paying obedience to the order of Congress enjoining fast days &c: until the 19th of Nov^{r}. 1775, when an armed force of 100 horsemen came from Connecticut to his House, & not finding him at home they beat his children to oblige them to tell where their father was—which not succeeding they searched the neighborhood and took him from his school, & with much abusive language carried him in great triumph to New Haven, 70 miles distant, where he was paraded through most of the streets, & their success celebrated by firing of Cannon &c: That at New Haven he was confined under a military guard & keepers for six weeks, during which time they endeavoured to fix the publication of *A. W. Farmers*[8] pamphlets on him; which failing, & some of the principal people in that country disapproving their conduct, your Memorialist was permitted to return home; where he remained in tolerable quiet till the next Spring; That then he suffered much both from insults and the loss of property, by the parties of recruits who were almost daily passing through his Parish to New York, to form that Army which was afterwards defeated on Long Island.[9]

After the war the clergy of Connecticut met in Woodbury and took the initial steps for forming an independent American church by selecting Dr. Leaming (B.A. 1745) and Seabury as suitable candidates for the episcopate. The former withdrew his name and the latter was elected. He proceeded immediately to England for consecration, being the first American thus to present himself. The English Church authorities refused his request, largely for political

[8] These pamphlets were in part written by Seabury. He never directly denied their authorship.

[9] Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 140-141.

reasons involved in the requirement that bishops sign an oath of allegiance to the King, and consequently, after a year's exasperating delay, he went to Aberdeen and was consecrated by nonjuring bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The date of this important event was November 14, 1784. He returned home as soon as possible, taking up, in addition to his Episcopal duties, the rectorship of St. James Church, New London.

As first Bishop of Connecticut, and later also of Rhode Island, and as Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, he laid wise foundations under great difficulties, as historical conditions had made his communion unpopular among the American people. He united in 1792 with Bishops White, Provoost, and Madison in the historic service when Dr. Claggett was consecrated a Bishop, the first service of its kind in America, and the one through which all later consecrations are traced.

His successor, Bishop Jarvis (B.A. 1761), says that "As a Bishop he conducted with great prudence, filled his office with dignity, and lived in perfect harmony with the clergy."[10] This is all true and the importance of his work seems even greater to the historian of a century later.

In *The Literary History of the American Revolution,*[11] Professor Tyler pays to Seabury's memory this tribute:

> He was a man builded after an heroic pattern: a man of powerful frame, of robust health, of tremendous energy—physical, mental, moral; of great and varied experience in the affairs of life; a physician, a theologian, a scholar; a terse and vigorous writer; an orator of impassioned and commanding speech; his mind firmly made up to clear and reverent conclusions on all the great subjects that man, either alone or in society, has to deal with. Morover, there were in Seabury a singular courage of opinion, a downrightness of utterance, a necessity for the frank and emphatic expression of whatsoever convictions were within him, an inability to dodge important issues, or to shuffle all responsibility, or to shirk a painful duty; with all this, too, a grave and manly prudence, entire freedom from frothy zeal, or from light-headed impetuosity, or from ambition for social martyrdom.

He was a strong and picturesque character, and a man of

[10] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 183.
[11] Vol. I, p. 350.

undoubted ability, integrity, and courage, who rendered a real service to American Christianity. In spite of his extreme views of the dignity of his office probably no one enjoyed it more than the good Bishop himself when at a Yale Commencement it was suggested that he be invited to a seat on the platform, and his old college acquaintance, President Stiles, whose opinion of the Congregational minister's position was an exalted one, is reported to have said, "We are all Bishops here, but if there be room for another he can occupy it."[12]

Oxford bestowed upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. There is a fine portrait on the east wall of the University Dining Hall at Yale, a copy of the original in Trinity College, Hartford. The standard biographies are *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Seabury,* by Rev. Dr. Beardsley, and *Memoirs of Bishop Seabury,* by Rev. Dr. W. J. Seabury.

Samuel by divine permission Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut; To our beloved in Christ, William Duke, Clerk, Greeting.

{ Seal }

Samuel Bp. Ep. Chch. Connect.

We do by these presents Give and Grant unto You, in whose Fidelity, morals, sound Doctrine and Diligence we do fully confide, Our License and Authority, to continue only during our pleasure (or till a Bishop be regularly settled in the State where you shall officiate, to whose Ecclesiastical Authority you will of course be subject) to perform the office of a Priest in the Church of Christ, more particularly in Queen Caroline's Parish in Ann Arundel County in the State of Maryland in Reading the Common Prayer, Preaching and performing all other Ecclesiastical Duties belonging to the said office, according to the Form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the Church of England, except where the said Common Prayer is affected by the Civil Constitution of the American States. You having first made and subscribed the declaration which we in this Case required to be made and subscribed.

In Witness whereof we have caused our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed at New Haven in Connecticut the eighteenth day of October 1785, and in the first year of our Consecration.

[12] Seabury, *Memoirs of Bishop Seabury,* p. 362.

This is a very early document of American Episcopacy, since it was signed within four months of Seabury's arrival in America. As he was at the time the only Bishop of his Church in the colonies, he had to perform some official acts outside of his specific diocese. Maryland, to which this document has special reference, did not have an Episcopal Bishop of its own until several years later. Seabury's habit of omitting his last name in his official signature caused much comment and amusement in Connecticut, as did also his use of the mitre on important ecclesiastical occasions. The latter is symbolically represented on the seal of the letter.

The need referred to of making some departures from the Prayer Book of the Church of England was due to the fact that America was now an independent democracy, and that consequently the monarchical allusions of prayers and rubrics were no longer appropriate. The Book of Common Prayer was revised and ratified in 1789 "by the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Lyman Beecher

Class of 1797

Born, September 12, 1775; Died, January 10, 1863

Preacher and Moral Reformer

Lyman Beecher was one of the most effective preachers of righteousness in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the father of Henry Ward Beecher. He was the son of a New Haven blacksmith. In boyhood he worked on a farm and in a shop belonging to his uncle by whom he was adopted after his mother's death. Later he prepared for college with a country parson.

Of the conditions at Yale when he entered he has given this picturesque account:

> The stairs in the main building [Connecticut Hall] were worn nearly through, the rooms defaced and dirty.
>
> As to apparatus, we had a great orrery, almost as big as the wheel of an ocean steamer, made in college by Joseph Badger, afterwards missionary to the Sandwich Islands. It was made to revolve, but was all rusty; nobody ever started it.
>
> There was a four-foot telescope, all rusty; nobody ever looked through it, and if they did, not to edification. There was an air-pump, so out of order that a mouse under the receiver would live as long as Methusaleh. There was a prism, and an elastic hoop to illustrate centrifugal force.
>
> We were taken up to see those dingy, dirty things, and that was all the apparatus the college had.
>
> James Gould [q.v.] was our first tutor, and then Roger Minott Sherman [q.v.], a great man, one of the first at the bar afterward. He loved us, and we him. He was our tutor till the spring of our Junior year. After Gould left us, the president heard us recite for a season, till Sherman took us.[1]

A classmate of Beecher has preserved an account of the undergraduate amusements of the time, especially of the football matches then in vogue on the New Haven Green and depicted in the well-known Doolittle engraving of the College in 1807:

> The only sports or amusements which I remember, were foot races of ten rods & foot/ball. In these I freely engaged. . . . . But Foot-ball was our common

[1] *Autobiography and Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher,* Vol. I, pp. 39 ff., for this and following references.

sport, almost every day in good weather & very often twice daily & I forget if more. We had three lines in front of the College buildings down to the road that crossed the Green by *two* meeting houses if I remember. Of the three lines the two outside were eight or ten rods apart. We would begin on the middle line & if the scholars were generally out on both sides, whenever the ball was driven over one of the outside lines, the party on that side were beaten, & the other party enjoyed the shouting. There was no delay of the game by choosing sides, the parties were divided by the buildings in which they severally roomed.[2]

Beecher's description of the college life of his time shows that it was of a rather rough and boisterous character, especially before the change in the presidency. He saw the end of the early College under Stiles and the beginnings of the modern University under Dwight. The former was a typical old-time pedagogue, the latter an inspiring teacher and leader in education. Beecher recalls the impressive *Notetur* of the old president, as in accordance with the strict legal code of the time he fined him at the beginning of Sophomore year for three weeks' absence, spent in teaching school to accommodate a friend. He claims to have been himself partially responsible for the abolition of the fagging laws. Here is his characteristic account:

I had some hand in that myself. The first part of the year I lived in George St, and escaped the tyranny of the Sophomores; but, on taking a room in college (it was the northeast corner, lower story), I soon experienced its effects. I was sent for to a room so full of tobacco-smoke you could not see across it. There I was asked all manner of questions, in English and Latin, and received all manner of solemn advice. Then Forbes, a big fellow, took me as his fag, and sent me on errands. Every day he contrived to send me on some business or other, worrying me down to indignation.

One moonlight evening, as a few of our class were standing together as the nine o'clock bell rang, some one said, "Come let's go down and break Forbes's windows."

"No, no," said I, "the streets are full of people."

"Coward!"

"You've missed your man this time. I'm not a coward, but I'm not a fool. If any man will go at twelve o'clock tonight, I will."

"I'll go!" said Parker. And so, when twelve o'clock came, we went down, each armed with a couple of bricks. We marched past, and let drive one after another. One struck the wall just above his head.

[2] MS. letter from Charles Goodrich (B.A. 1797), August 31, 1869.

Next day father said to me, "Lyman, Mr. Hubbard has been talking with me; he thinks it likely you were concerned in breaking Forbes's windows."

"Well," said I, "he can't prove it, and you can't prove it; and God only can publish it if it's true."

"Well, well," said he, "I'll tell you what you had better do. Just stop your class, and contribute enough to mend the windows, and say nothing."

So said, so done. The windows were mended, and the thing passed over; but they never sent me errands any more after that.

The old system was abolished soon after.[3]

Of the transformation in the atmosphere of student life accomplished by President Dwight, and of his special influence in fitting Beecher for his career, there is ample evidence from the same source:

He had the greatest agency in developing my mind. Before he came college was in a most ungodly state. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptical, and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common. I hardly know how I escaped. Was invited to play, once, in a classmate's room. I did so, and won. Next day I won again, then lost, and ended in debt. I saw immediately whereunto that would grow; obtained leave of absence, went home for a week, till cured of that mania, and never touched a card afterwards.

According to Beecher things had gone so far in the way of free thought that Thomas Paine was a good deal of a college hero. Students even called each other by such names as Voltaire and Rousseau. They were surprised when the new President threw down to them the gauntlet of debate, and from the light of reason itself brought them back to historical Christianity. Beecher was always grateful for Dwight's influence, which had a national effect in stemming the rising tide of French infidelity. He made his profession of faith as a Junior, uniting with the College Church, April 30, 1798—a date of importance in view of the religious influences that were to go out from Beecher and his family.

He was not a very high stand man in scholarship,[4] but he was recognized as a good speaker and was chosen by his class to give the Valedictory on Presentation Day. His talent for speaking led to his election to the old office of "Professor of Rhetoric" in Brothers in

[3] *Autobiography and Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher,* Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.
[4] He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa while a graduate student.

Unity. He was also, in Senior year, one of the founders of the Moral Society. It was designed, according to its constitution, "for the promotion and preservation of morality among the members of this University." He took part in its first formal debate. It was on the time-worn subject, "Does prosperity tend more to human happiness than adversity?"[5] In the society's records there is this reference to Beecher's conduct. It shows how seriously its members took themselves in their desire to live up most scrupulously to the highest standards:

> Mr. Beecher then read a confession for a breach of morality of which he had previously been guilty, to this import,
>
> The circumstances of some cups having been broken by a stone thrown from a College-window is too well known to need a particular description. For this transaction (divested of consideration by the impulse of passion) I confess to have been so far concerned, that I consider myself as having violated the rules of morality profess'd in this Society; for which unworthy, unhappy transaction, I have ever from the first moments of reflection, experienced the most poignant regret; and for which in obedience to the constitution, and the dictates of my own feelings I cheerfully request the forgiveness of this society.
>
> After Mr. Beecher had read this confession, a motion was made and seconded that he should receive the pardon of the Society, which motion was carried without any objection.[6]

Having received his Bachelor's degree he studied theology with President Dwight, and after a brief pastorate on Long Island, was called to the First Congregational Church of Litchfield, Connecticut, then one of the most important educational centers in New England. There he remained fifteen years, actively employed in advancing religious, moral, and educational causes. This period was specially marked by his earnest writings in behalf of temperance, which had their influence on two continents. In fact, Beecher and Thomas S. Grimké (B.A. 1807), the well-known South Carolinian, were two of the pioneer temperance advocates in America.

In 1826 he removed to Boston, where his efforts were largely absorbed in combating the dominant Unitarianism. Here he was

[5] Moral Society MS. Records, p. 6.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

theologically conservative in the midst of radicals, while later in Cincinnati he seemed dangerously liberal to the ultraconservatives. He was now recognized as the foremost representative of his communion in America.

In 1831, deeply impressed with the importance of influencing for Christianity the rapidly developing West, he accepted the presidency of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, together with the professorship of Theology. He also undertook to carry for a few years the pastorate of the Second Presbyterian Church. The Seminary did for the West of its day what Oberlin did for a later generation. Beecher gave nearly twenty of his best years to this work, but returned East for the last decade of his life, living most of the time with his son in Brooklyn. He was buried, by his special request, in the Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven, alongside of his staunch friend, Professor Taylor (q.v.).

Dr. Beecher's fame has been so dimmed among the multitude by that of his son, Henry Ward Beecher, and of his daughter, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* that this generation hardly appreciates the national importance of his work and the magnetic influence of his personality. He was not a profound scholar, but he was a forceful preacher of religion, a fearless prophet of righteousness, a convincing apostle of temperance, and an earnest anti-duelling and anti-slavery advocate. Many of his utterances, such as that on the death of Hamilton, provoked nation-wide discussion. His "remarkable power in his generation was primarily due to his brilliant intellect, his intense sympathy with the gospel, and his lovable personal character." Professor Dexter, in *Yale Biographies and Annals,* from which this tribute is quoted, enumerates thirty-six of his publications.

His witty and interesting *Autobiography and Correspondence* has been edited by his son, Rev. Charles Beecher. It is worth recording that the Class of 1797, of which he was a member, was the first to publish a Class History, although there is a manuscript report of 1792 in the College Library.

There are good portraits of Dr. Beecher in the Yale Dining Hall and in the Divinity School, but his most adequate memorial at the University is the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching," established in 1871. This foundation is the most important of its character in America. Among the incumbents have been Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, George Adam Smith, and other eminent scholars and divines.

Boston Oct 31. 1827

Dear Sir

Will you have the goodness to send me as soon as possible by mail my Election Sermon which I revised & sent on to you & if that should be mislaid will you still explore New Haven till you find one & buy or borrow & send one on as I want to republish it here—any expense you may incur will be cheerfully sustained by me—

L Beecher

The Election Sermon was addressed to the Connecticut Legislature meeting in New Haven, May 3, 1826. The revision referred to as desired was for the sermon to be preached by Dr. Beecher at Plymouth, December 22, 1827. This was later published with the title: *The Memory of Our Fathers.* Beecher's reasons for haste were evident.

Moses Stuart

Class of 1799

Born, March 26, 1780; Died, January 4, 1852

Founder of Modern Biblical Scholarship in America

Professor Stuart might be classed either under Divines or Educational Leaders. His means were those of the teacher, but his method, motive, and results were such as characterize the Christian preacher.

The son of a Connecticut farmer living in Norwalk, he prepared for college at a local academy and under the private tutorship of Roger Minott Sherman (q.v.), who fitted him to enter the Sophomore class. His capacity for study was early marked. In one evening he mastered the four conjugations of Latin verbs, in another sixty rules of syntax.[1] On entering Yale he showed special proficiency in mathematics, but he was strong in all his studies, and graduated as Salutatorian. He was known for his maturity of thought and expression. One classmate went so far as to speak of "the identity of the youth of seventeen with the old man of seventy," and adds that the first undergraduate composition which he heard him read "was in the same style, in its leading characteristics, as his last publications from the press." He was not enthusiastic regarding most of his instruction. That of his Sophomore and Junior years was in the hands of Jeremiah Atwater (B.A. 1793), afterwards President of Middlebury and Dickinson colleges. Several years later he wrote to Tutor Woolsey: "I know what I received when I was a student from my tutor, i.e., just nothing; for I was only questioned as to my progress in my text book. . . . . I lost under my tutor, the golden age of life, with comparatively insignificant acquisitions."[2] Fortunately these defects were largely counterbalanced by the stimulating instruction of Presi-

[1] Park, *Discourse delivered at the Funeral of Professor Moses Stuart*, p. 16.
[2] *Yale Review*, 1912, pp. 257-258.

dent Dwight in Senior year, and by the helpful activities of his debating society, in which he took frequent and prominent part. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa, where we find him debating the question, "Ought Clergymen to be excluded from holding civil offices?" The decision of the society was the sensible one that they ought not to be excluded by law, but that generally it was not expedient to elect them.

On graduating he pursued legal studies, but being called to the tutorship in 1802, he accepted the position temporarily because of "his love of study." As a tutor he was unusually successful in stimulating young men to work. "His great power was in making a class feel that there was something to be done." The religious movement, which was so marked in the College during the year in which his service as tutor began, seems to have had its influence upon him. Professor Park tells the story of the slight incident which turned his mind at this time from the law to the ministry:

> One day, desirous of procuring some appropriate book for the Sabbath, Mr. Stuart borrowed of the President, a volume of Macknight on the Epistles. That volume opened before the future philologist a new field of inquiry. At first his interest in it seemed to be a mere literary inquisitiveness; soon he became absorbed in religious contemplation. His feelings were deeply moved. For a long time he resisted the new influence, but at last bowed his heart before God. . . . . In the early part of 1803 he connected himself with the church in Yale College.[3]

These were the days when President Dwight was using every means in his power to improve the moral condition and the esprit de corps of the College, which had fallen rather low in the closing years of the century. That the old order died hard is shown by these quotations from letters of Tutor Stuart to his college friend, Benjamin Silliman (q.v.). The second letter, written in February, 1803, six weeks after the first, indicates that the new régime was already making itself felt:

> So much time has elapsed since the publication of our last "Gazette," that it becomes pleasing, and in a degree necessary to give you further information respect-

[3] Park, *Discourse*, p. 19.

ing the "gestion" of our affairs. To be very brief, Mr. ——— has been rusticated, (for rolling barrels down my stairs,) for the term of two months. Sophomore ——— has received the darts of Dr. Dwight's quiver, until they were exhausted, for cutting bell-ropes and blasphemy, but without any harm; he yet stands unhurt "amidst the war, &c." Freshman ——— has been suspended for crimes of almost every name. Many others stand trembling in "fearful looking for of fiery indignation." In short, there appear to be more devils in college at present than were cast out of Mary Magdalene. I have been honored by a broadside at one of my windows, which popped off without ceremony six squares of glass. No matter; you were honored in the same way. I congratulate myself on having obtained the honor. "Fiat justitia ruat cœlum," is my maxim. But the devil does not extend his dominion over students alone. The august body of tutors have occasionally acknowledged his power. Last evening they met at the "Luxembourg" to read "Dialogues" for the January exhibition.[4]

. . . . . .

As to college affairs, they go on much in the old way. We had many convulsions last quarter, many furious "spasms of infuriated" Sophomores and Freshmen. . . . . Mr. Fowler's door almost split to pieces with stones; my windows broken; Freshman ——— publicly dismissed; Sophomore ——— and ——— sent home; T———, Sophomore, rusticated three months; and W———, Freshman, sent off. Nothing but wars and rumors of wars. This term there appears to be some disposition to enter into a treaty of peace; at least, a cessation of hostilities is agreed upon.[5]

Having completed two years in the tutorship, which were as fruitful in his own development as in that of his students, he entered upon the study of divinity under President Dwight. "After reading Dr. Hopkins's System of Divinity, a number of President Edwards's treatises, several of Andrew Fuller's, a part of Ridgley's Body of Divinity, and some of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and a part of Prideaux's Connection, I was examined and licensed to preach, by the neighboring Association of Ministers."[6]

The transformation of theological instruction from this unsystematic personal reading to the well-ordered modern curriculum with its thorough training in the language, literature, and thought of the Bible is due more to Professor Stuart than to any other American. The achievement is well stated in resolutions passed after his death at

[4] Fisher, *Life of Silliman*, Vol. I, p. 114.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[6] Park, *Discourse*, p. 19.

a public meeting in New York called by the professors of the Union Seminary:

> He resorted—not servilely, but with discrimination and independence of thought—to treasures of hermeneutical lore which had before been generally unknown or neglected; and by the apparatus for study which his skill and patient industry furnished, by his almost unequalled power of awakening enthusiasm in his pupils, and by his numerous published discussions, he was mainly instrumental in giving a new direction and impulse to Biblical study. Nor was he merely a pioneer in this work—he maintained to the last the highest rank as a Biblical scholar; and he lived to see, in the extensive and earnest cultivation of exegetical science, the ample fruit and rich reward of his well-directed and abundant labors.[7]

But events have been somewhat anticipated. In 1810 Professor Stuart, having served for four years with conspicuous success as pastor of the Center Church, New Haven, began his career as Professor of Sacred Literature at the Andover Theological Seminary. Fortunately the inadequacy of his technical preparation was more than equaled by his indomitable spirit. Imagine a man's undertaking to fill such a professorship today without any special training in linguistics for his particular task! Yet this was Professor Stuart's condition. He says that he began his Andover work "with little more than a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet, and the power of making out, after a poor fashion too, the bare translation of some [five or six] chapters in Genesis and a few Psalms, by aid of Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, and without the vowel-points. I had not, and never have had, the aid of any teacher in my biblical studies. Alas! for our country at that time (A. D. 1810); there was scarcely a man in it, unless by accident some one who had been educated abroad, that had such a knowledge of Hebrew as was requisite in order to be an instructor."[8]

But his zeal knew no bounds. Within three years he completed a Hebrew Grammar, the first[9] to be published in the English language. He set up the type with his own hands. "For the next forty years his pen was extraordinarily prolific, and his power in arousing and

[7] Adams, *Discourse on the Life and Services of Professor Moses Stuart*, p. 4.
[8] Park, *Discourse*, p. 24.
[9] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, p. 374.

directing the mind of the clergy who came under his influence unparalleled."[10] In 1821 he secured for the Seminary a press with Hebrew type, and by 1829 he had available fonts in eleven different Oriental languages and dialects. This press became famous on two continents, providing the means for making the beginnings of scientific Biblical scholarship in America. In his devotion to Hebraic studies, and in his desire to make the books of the Bible known in their original tongue to American scholars, he showed a zeal only equaled a half century later by President Harper (q.v.).

His published bibliography covers many closely printed pages. It includes, in addition to linguistic studies, addresses and sermons on various matters of public importance, and the translation of standard European works for the critical study of the Bible in the original. He did more than any American up to the middle of the nineteenth century to introduce our scholars to the best results of German studies in Biblical philology. But Professor Stuart was not primarily a research scholar, but rather an earnest apostle of religion, who believed that Judaism and Christianity were historical faiths to be rightly understood only if the conditions of their origin and literary transmission were accurately known. His "vocation was to call back the Bible, the genuine, original Bible, in its true interpretation, into the theology of the Anglo-Saxon nations."[11] His greatest work was his inspiring instruction in Hebrew and Greek, and especially in the former, which sent out into the mission field a whole group of well-trained men, with enthusiasm for Biblical study, who became in turn the translators of the Scriptures into the languages of the non-Christian world. A competent authority has not exaggerated the facts in saying:

> The zeal which animated him in the study of the original Scriptures, and the rules which guided him in their interpretation, were repeated by his many pupils, who, going from under his immediate instruction, were set to the foundation-work of modern missions, the translation of the Word of God into so many languages and

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 375.
[11] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, quoting Professor Stowe, Vol. II, p. 479.

dialects of the earth. Judson in Burmese, Gordon Hall and Newell in Mahratta, Winslow and Spaulding in Tamul, Thurston and Bingham in Hawaiian, Goodell in Armeno-Turkish, Temple and King in modern Greek, Byington, Kingsbury and Wright in Choctaw, Worcester in Cherokee, Dwight and Riggs in modern Armenian, Bridgman in Chinese, Schauffler in Hebrew-Spanish, Jones in Siamese, Perkins in modern Syriac, Hall in Ojibway, Grout in Zulu, Bryant in Grebo, Walker in Mpongwe; there was not one of these who did not remember and honor their instructor as their chief qualification for success when they prosecuted the difficult and invaluable service of rendering the Scriptures into the languages of the heathen.[12]

President Dwight, writing a half century after his death, when the historical perspective should be clear, although realizing that Professor Stuart's conclusions in scholarship were sometimes open to criticism, said that "no instructor in any branch of study, within the limits of the century, has had a more awakening force for his students' minds, we may safely say, than Professor Stuart had during a large portion of his long career."[13]

The best account of his life is found in the two memorial discourses quoted in the text. "Moses Stuart—The Man who unfettered Religious Thought in America" is the title of an interesting article in the *Connecticut Magazine,* Volume XI, No. 1. A portrait is his only memorial at the University.

Andover 16 March 1830

My dear Sir,

Yours has been received. I do not misconstrue it, nor take it amiss. I have no doubt you are very sincere in your views; & suppose that when you speak of free-masonry as an *indifferent* affair, you are nearly in the right. But still, to my certain knowledge, its *tendency* is Bacchanalian; It is easily abused; & although the abuse of a thing is no argument against the use of it, yet if the thing abused cannot be shewn to be *important*, then the use of it is no good argument in its favour. I think that no judicious observer of men & things will say, that the ends of free masonry cannot be better accomplished

[12] Park, *Discourse,* p. 59.

[13] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 132. Cf. President Wayland's tribute quoted by Park, p. 55. "I have never known any man who had so great power of enkindling enthusiasm for study, in a class. It mattered not what was the subject of investigation, the moment he touched upon it, it assumed an absorbing interest in the eyes of all of us."

without any secrets, than with them; & better in some form which will include both sexes, than in one which excludes one half of the human race.

I have been written to from *Danville* on the question, Whether Masonry is a subject of *church discipline;* & myself, with all my colleagues, here, have said, with one voice, *No.* Masonry should have no more to do with church matters than with politics.

My letter was intended to force out some *denial* or *defense* from good & creditable men. This I believe it has contributed to do; as you may see from the *exposé* recently made in Maine by men of the very first respectability. This cannot fail to compose the public mind, & to do good; & this is what I aimed at. Is not this right, & proper, & Christian?

Your friend & obed^{t}. Ser^{t}.

M. Stuart

[Addressed to]
Samuel Elliott Esq
Brattleboro' (Vermont)

This letter is an interesting contemporary document regarding the agitation against free-masonry caused by the publication of William Morgan's alleged exposé, *Illustrations of Freemasonry,* in 1826. The political and religious discussion created was particularly vehement in Vermont and New York, the former state being for several years under an anti-masonic administration. In 1832, a national Anti-Masonic presidential ticket was put in the field, but the excitement lasted only a few years. Professor Stuart held and expressed strong views on this as on most other subjects.

Nathaniel William Taylor

Class of 1807

Born, June 23, 1786; Died, March 10, 1858

Teacher of Theology

Dr. Taylor's life was all spent in and near New Haven, and no more inspiring religious influence has ever blessed the city and the University. He was born in New Milford, the son of a farmer, and the grandson of a Congregational minister, who was for many years a member of the Yale Corporation. He prepared for college under Rev. Dr. Azel Backus (B.A. 1787), at Bethlehem, Connecticut, and entered in his fifteenth year.

Like many other distinguished graduates in the early part of the eighteenth century, he served as secretary of Phi Beta Kappa. We may easily imagine the pleasure with which the future theologian disputed such questions as "Are those actions which are recorded as miracles really such?" which was unanimously decided in the affirmative, "Ought a man always to follow the dictates of his conscience?", "Ought religion to be supported by law?", and "Can the benevolence of the Deity be proved from the light of nature?" The influence of President Dwight (q.v.) is clearly seen in the character of the subjects debated in Taylor's time, and in the decisions reached, which were uniformly favorable to religion.

The most marked influence in his college course was that of the President, and it was twice exerted in a striking manner. The first time was in his Junior year when he became deeply interested in religion. In accordance with the general psychology of the time he was specially overcome with the conviction of sin. The sense of his own unworthiness took such a firm hold upon him that Dr. Dwight feared lest his reason might become affected. Dr. Taylor in later life told a friend[1] that the first ray of hope of Divine Mercy which came to him at this time was as a result of hearing the President read in Chapel

[1] *Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor*, p. 27.

the words,[2] "a bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench." But it was several years before the word then sown grew into a mature faith under Dr. Dwight's constant instruction. He always considered the President the human agent of his spiritual transformation.

He suffered from trouble with the eyes which made it necessary for him to take six years to complete his course. After two long enforced absences he felt greatly discouraged. He wrote later in life: "Though I had previously felt an intense interest in study, I had, by that time, entirely lost it. Occasionally, however, my emulation was stirred: but it was to little purpose, as I had abandoned the thought of either doing or being much in future life."[3]

Here again the venerable President exerted his influence, and again an incident slight in itself seems to have been the turning point. Professor Fisher gives this account of it:

> In his Senior year, he read in the presence of the class, and before the President, an essay on "The Foundation of Virtue." His classmates who had preceded him, had failed to apprehend the point of the theme; and the President had observed as each of them finished, that they did not understand the question, but after Taylor had read, the President remarked with great emphasis: "That is right,"—and added warm words of commendation, which made his young heart beat quick. His despondency was over; and to this event he attributed not only his revived enthusiasm, but also the direction which his studies afterwards took.[4]

At the public Commencement he took part in a dialogue on the "Death of Domitian," and delivered an oration "On the Advantages of National Adversity."

President Dwight's influence on his young scholar increased[5] still further after graduation when the latter, after a year as a tutor to Stephen Van Rensselaer, the young Patroon of Albany, became his amanuensis, lived in his home, and studied theology with him.

[2] The writer has known of a similar psychological experience in his own ministry. An intellectual woman in no way given to emotionalism, one of whose parents had recently died under tragic circumstances, informed him that the first religious help that came to her was connected with the reading in the funeral service of the words "one star differeth from another star in glory."

[3] *Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor*, p. 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[5] Professor Martin's article on Dr. Taylor, Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. II, p. 29.

In 1812 he was installed pastor of the Center Church, on the New Haven Green, where he remained for a decade until his call to the Dwight Professorship of Didactic Theology at Yale. This position he adorned for the remainder of his life. As Dr. Leonard Bacon has said: "His lecture room was soon filled; and his pupils, fascinated with the charm of his enthusiasm in the sublime science which he taught, were themselves enthusiastic in their admiration of his teaching."[6] Of this enthusiasm there were almost no bounds. President Dwight (the younger) has repeatedly said that he was the most magnetic teacher that he had known in America, and refers[7] to the fact that his students were so deeply interested in his instruction that they often remained an hour after a lecture in further personal discussion of the themes presented. He was accustomed to close his lectures with "Now I will hear you"[8]—an invitation which led to the frankest interchange of opinion. This freedom of discussion and the modern and helpful way in which he presented ethical problems drew many college students to his theological classroom. His teaching and personality permeated the Yale Divinity School, of which he was the real founder, and left their impress not only on the institution but on the attitude of mind and character of hundreds of its graduates.

The tribute of Dr. Theodore T. Munger (q.v.) to Dr. Taylor's power is particularly impressive. He wrote in 1856 to his friend Elisha Mulford (q.v.), comparing Dr. Park of Andover with the great New Haven divine. Here are the closing words of his comparison:

> Taylor, on the other hand, exercises a positive power upon you. He is a genius in theology—an enthusiast, and he makes you feel. Somehow he plants a truth within a man and it becomes life and power. You will think for weeks on some thought or view that he throws out. In short he is a Teacher, and a true Teacher is rarer than a true Poet. Should you hear him you would probably at first revolt from him. You would be disgusted with his dogmatism and wonder where his power lies. But wait and yield yourself to his influence and soon you will see and feel it.

[6] *Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor,* pp. 6-7.
[7] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 257.
[8] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. II, p. 35.

> The chief effects of his teaching, I think, are these. He makes you *feel* a few important truths *strongly*. He makes you think for yourself; and no man can be effective without some degree of these.[9]

He had a wholesome contempt for the acceptance of beliefs on the basis of "authority" alone. He wished men to be fearless, independent thinkers. "Follow Truth if it takes you over Niagara," was one of his characteristic sayings.

Taylor was the last, as Edwards was the first, of the great minds who built up the New England Theology. His thought formed the main bridge from the inherited orthodoxy of the eighteenth century to the liberal tendencies of later Congregationalism. In doctrinal belief he was nearer the first group; in the spirit of free inquiry, and of earnest and fearless search after truth, he was nearer the last. He was considered a liberal by his own denomination during his early years and was bitterly attacked for his departures from inherited Calvinism. It was over his views that the warfare between Taylorism and Tylerism (Bennet Tyler, q.v.) was long waged so vigorously. Taylor's aim, as one of his successors as head of the Yale Divinity School has pointed out, was "so to rectify the conception of the liberty of the will as to make room for a theodicy that should leave untouched the free and responsible nature of man and the moral attributes of God not less than his omnipotence."[10]

But great as he was as a theologian, he was greater as a teacher and preacher, and greatest of all as a man. He gave himself heart and soul to the building up of a great University School of Religion at Yale, and so it is appropriate that a later generation should have changed the name of West Divinity to Taylor Hall. His other memorials include a lectureship in the Divinity School, two portraits, a bust by Ives, and a window in Battell Chapel. Among the best known of his writings are the *Lectures on the Moral Government of God*. His life may be studied in the *Memorial of Nathaniel W. Taylor*. An interesting appreciation is that by Dr. Munger in the

[9] Bacon, *Theodore Thornton Munger*, pp. 73, 74.
[10] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 146, Professor Fisher.

Yale Alumni Weekly, Volume XVIII. His grave is in the Grove Street Cemetery.

New Haven Apl. 12th 1856

Rev. Dear Sir,

I have received a pamphlet entitled "Remonstrance & Complaint of the Association of Fairfield West to the Hartford Central Association etc" and also a letter, from the Association of Fairfield West, addressed to the Association of New Haven West. "The Remonstrance etc," respects the doings of the Hartford Central Association in the case of Dr. Bushnell's book entitled "God in Christ." The letter from the Association of Fairfield West requests the Association of New Haven West, "to meet, & to consider this subject, & to let them know the conclusion to which we come."

In accordance with the wish of several members, that a special meeting of our body should be called, you are hereby requested to meet in Association at New Haven in the Theological Lecture Room of Yale College on Wednesday the 24th inst. at 10.OClock A.M. for the purpose above specified.

NATH^A. W. TAYLOR

Mod. of Ass. of N. H. West.

This letter is of Yale interest as it is a formal call by a Yale professor for a meeting in the Theological Lecture Room (then in the old Treasury Building on the College Campus north of the Woolsey statue) to consider the charges of heresy brought against the University's distinguished graduate, Horace Bushnell (q.v.). Fortunately the heresy trial—one of the most famous in American history—resulted favorably to the accused. His liberal views on the Trinity and on other church doctrines were obnoxious to some of his fellow-ministers.

Leonard Bacon

Class of 1820

Born, February 19, 1802; Died, December 24, 1881

Preacher of Righteousness

Dr. Bacon was born in Detroit. His father was a missionary to the Ojibbewa Indians in the Territory of Michigan. His college career was a respectable but not a distinguished one intellectually. In spite of his large abilities only one of his term averages was above three on a scale of four. He partially made up by broad, although somewhat superficial, outside reading for what he lost by not being a more thorough scholar. He entered as a Sophomore, and had that extraordinary youthful genius, Professor Alexander M. Fisher (q.v.), as his division officer.

President Woolsey (q.v.), his classmate, has fortunately left us an account of their life together in Junior and Senior years:

> It was, if I remember right, in the junior year that common interests in the affairs of the "Brothers' Society," one of the two societies which divided college between them, brought together three of us (Bacon, Twining, and myself), to write a series of papers, which were called the *Talebearer,*[1] and were read by an officer of the society called the reader. They were, of course, anonymous, but it was well understood who were the "editors." The papers were juvenile and hastily written, but lively and sometimes (as the society was split into parties) more or less polemical; but they did good, at least, to their authors, by a discipline in writing which was not without its use in supplementing the rhetorical exercises in college. Quite a number of them were in verse, among which one of Bacon's for sparkling wit was quite beyond the average of similar college performances.[2]

In Senior year Bacon, with his roommate, Chester Isham, a man of sterling Christian character and ability who died young, Woolsey, afterwards President of Yale, Solomon Stoddard, later well known as joint editor with Ethan Allen Andrews of the *Grammar of the Latin Language,* at one time almost universally used in America,

[1] Cf. MS. Records of Brothers, April 7, 1819.
[2] From *Independent,* article quoted in *Leonard Bacon, In Memoriam,* p. 226.

Alexander Twining (q.v.), who was destined to distinguish himself in Engineering and Mathematics, and another classmate, Brockway by name, formed a club known as the Hexahedron. It met weekly, at one of the three groups of rooms represented by its members, for purposes of literary and social fellowship—with the reading of English poetry as the main feature. It was just such an informal organization as is always found in college—and fortunately, for it is the type of thing that gives charm and opportunity for development in culture to the later years of undergraduate life. Bacon also took part in the discussions of the Moral Society and served on its standing committee. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the end of Junior year. We find him debating in it with Woolsey and Twining the question whether "the present form of government in the United States will be permanent," which the society decided in the negative.

The debating society, the informal literary club, the whole-souled life of the Campus, the struggle with poverty, these, with much reading and a moderate amount of attention to the curriculum, were the main things that made up the round of his college experiences until Commencement. Then he received a Dispute appointment and chose for his subject, "the prospects of the North American Indians." In looking back a half century later over his undergraduate course he thus gave thanks for its blessings:

> God's care was over me then, and by His providence He was teaching me. I remember how, when my father had found rest in his grave, and my mother was a helpless though not friendless widow, God answered their prayer for their first-born, and brought me to Yale College. And here God taught me not only by the ministry of tutors and professors, with their text-books and their lectures, but also by His special providence over me. The penury and dependence, the privations and, I may say, hardships, as well as the opportunities of those years, were comprehended in the discipline by which God was training me.[3]

President Woolsey, in the *Independent* article already quoted, adds this statement about Bacon's college course. It is not hard to read between the lines that he was himself partially responsible for

[3] Semi-Centennial Discourse, p. 132, in *Leonard Bacon*.

bringing home to the latter a sterner sense of the importance of the strictest intellectual discipline:

The senior year passed happily away, and we were soon dispersed, not to meet again except as individual friends. The day after our graduation, two of those who had been among his best friends walked with Bacon as far as Whitneyville, on the road he was intending to take to Hartford, on foot. They told him plainly that he had not made the most of himself in college; that he had not studied enough and was in danger of hurting himself by superficial habits of reading. The friends bade farewell, and ere long he was established at Andover, with Isham for his room-mate. Now, as it afterward appeared, the responsibilities of life pressed upon him, and he did faithful work in his theological education. At the end of the course Bacon was chosen to make the principal address on the day when the class left the Seminary. I went to Andover to hear my friend's address, and rejoiced in the proofs that he gave of his progress.[4]

Soon after leaving the Seminary he was ordained pastor of the Center or First Church of New Haven. Here, for over fifty years, he wielded a mighty influence. The *Congregationalist,* shortly after his death, thus summed up what this ministry meant to Yale and through Yale to the nation:

But some sixty of his almost eighty years were lived in the face and eyes of Yale College, and in closer connection with it as student, friend, fellow, professor;[5] and it would be a venturesome imagination which should take upon itself to conjecture the contribution of various benign influences rendered by him to its general welfare. Thousands and thousands of its students have listened to his calm, clear logic, responded to his fervid appeals, laughed at his fun, respected his solid sense, and gone all over the world with a kind memory in some corner of the heart for his honored and unforgetable personality.[6]

A permanent memorial of this connection with the University is his published address before the annual meeting of the alumni in 1848, entitled *Christianity in History.* During much of this period he was the first citizen of New Haven, and in his later years he was recognized as the foremost American Congregationalist.

He was the leader of the liberal, but not of the radical element. He touched through pen and spoken word on almost all the controversial subjects of the time in theology, applied religion, and in what

[4] *Leonard Bacon,* p. 227.
[5] Acting Professor of Revealed Theology.
[6] Quoted in *Leonard Bacon,* p. 236.

later came to be known as sociology. "Probably no subject of serious importance that came into general notice during his long career escaped his earnest and active attention."[7] He was interested in all civic matters, especially in securing more stringent divorce legislation in Connecticut, but in no field was his contribution more important than in that of opposition to slavery. This was a subject on which Dr. Bacon began writing in 1833. The various papers which he prepared were put together in 1846, and published in a book under the title of *Slavery Discussed in Occasional Essays.* Lincoln read it in the formative period of his career and to its thought he felt under lasting obligations. It appears from his own "declaration to Dr. Joseph P. Thompson[8] that he owed to that book his definite, reasonable, and irrefragable views on the slavery question."[9] This quotation may claim too much, but of the deep influence of the essays on Lincoln's mind there is no doubt. The preface shows the point of view, almost the manner of expression, which became so familiar to the country in the great debate with Douglas a decade later:

> To me it seems that the man who needs argument on that point cannot be argued with. What elementary idea of right and wrong can that man have? If that form of government, that system of social order is not wrong—if those laws of the Southern States, by virtue of which slavery exists there and is what it is, are not wrong, nothing is wrong. Such a book as Wheeler's "Law of Slavery" leaves no room for any argument to prove that our southern slavery is wrong, if only the reader is gifted with a moral sense. It is therefore taken for granted in these essays from first to last, that every man has rights, and that our American slavery—which denies all rights to some two millions of human beings, and decrees that they shall always be held at the lowest point of degradation—is too palpably wrong to be argued about. The wrong of that slavery, however, is one thing, and the way to rectify that wrong is another thing. The wrongfulness of that entire body of laws, opinions, and practice is one thing; and the criminality of the individual master who tried to do right is another thing. These essays treat chiefly of the way in which the wrong can be set right.

Dr. Bacon in his sermon, in 1865, commemorating forty years of

[7] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. I, p. 130.

[8] Dr. Thompson (B.A. 1838) was distinguished as a preacher and as a writer on the application of Christianity to social problems.

[9] *Century Magazine,* March, 1883, p. 658. "A Good Fight Finished," by Leonard Woolsey Bacon.

his pastorate, spoke of these essays and of Lincoln's reference to them. The passage is so characteristic of his style, and gives so accurately information regarding one of the important influences leading to the point of view which saved the nation, that it is here reproduced in full:

> Somewhat less than twenty years ago, I published a volume of Essays On Slavery, which I had contributed to various periodicals. A copy of the volume fell into the hands of a village lawyer in one of our great western States. He was at that time quite unknown to fame, but his neighbors knew him well as an intelligent, sagacious, honest man, capable of great things and worthy of the highest trusts; and he had just then been selected, for the first time and the last, to be their representative in Congress. Less than four years ago, not knowing that he had ever heard of me, I had the privilege of an interview with him; and his first word, after our introduction to each other, was a reference to that volume, with a frank approval of its principles. Since then I have heard of his mentioning the same book to a friend of mine in terms which showed that it had made an impression on his earnest and thoughtful soul.
>
> The man to whom I refer has just been inaugurated, the second time, President of the United States; and his illustrious name is forever associated with the proclamation which sealed the doom of slavery. I am not vain enough to think that his great mind, so earnest in the love of justice, so confident in the conviction that right must finally prevail against wrong, so far-seeing in the discernment of principles and their bearings, needed any guidance or teaching from me; but it is something to think of in this review of forty years, that when ABRAHAM LINCOLN, nineteen years ago, first found himself, as an elected representative in Congress, face to face with slavery in its relation to questions of practical statesmanship, the studies and debates through which I had been conducted were in any way serviceable to him.[10]

As might be inferred from the above, the pulpit of Center Church, New Haven, had no uncertain sound in the trying days of the Civil War.

Dr. Bacon reached a large and thoughtful public through the periodical press. He was for many years in his early ministry an editor of the *Christian Spectator*. He was a frequent contributor to the *New Englander*, and united with Dr. Storrs and Dr. Thompson in establishing the *Independent*, on which he was their editorial colleague for sixteen years. Of his many separate publications the most important was his *Genesis of the New England Churches*. He also

[10] *Leonard Bacon*, p. 95.

wrote much and well on the local history of New Haven. His public services led to his receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University. He was prominently considered for the Yale presidency[11] when Dr. Woolsey was elected.

It is fitting that President Dwight's words spoken at his funeral service should here be quoted:

> Our friend who has now finished his earthly work was a man of varied powers and of admirable qualities, both of mind and heart. He was made by nature on a grand scale. We who knew him as a fellow-citizen and a friend came to understand this more and more fully as the years passed on. Those, also, who merely saw his face, and heard of him or from him in other places, were impressed by the same thought. No man could read a page of his writings or listen to one of his more powerful discourses, without having some true appreciation of his extraordinary ability.[12]

The Bacon Memorial containing the Reference Library of the Divinity School was erected in 1881, and was named in his honor. *Leonard Bacon—Pastor of the First Church in New Haven,* is the most adequate account of his life and work.

New Haven, May 1, 1877.

Dr. Holland,

Dear Sir,

I think that the accompanying article, which I received a few days ago, from my son, will, if published in your monthly, command the attention of various & large classes of readers. I therefore send it to you for editorial consideration, & with it the postage which will enable you to return it if you have not room for it. Allow me to ask that it may not be detained *after* an unfavorable decision. Of course I understand well that you are constantly receiving contributions (& many of them really good) which you cannot make room for.

The writer of the article which I send is about to return after a five years absence in Europe. You know something of his quality as a man of letters & a writer for the public. He has a certain aptitude (I might almost say a passion) for that sort of work which is beginning to be called by the newfangled & somewhat barbarous name of "Journalism." If you happen to

[11] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 183.
[12] *Leonard Bacon,* p. 150.

know any opening for him in that direction, you will confer a favor by informing me. If not, there is no need of your taking the trouble even to answer the suggestion.

Respectfully, Yours,

LEONARD BACON.

The letter is addressed to J. G. Holland, the well-known journalist and author who at the time was editor of *Scribner's Magazine,* of which he was virtually the founder. It refers to Dr. Bacon's son, Leonard Woolsey Bacon (B.A. 1850), the author of books on religious and historical questions, and submits a manuscript from him. This is favorably endorsed by Dr. Holland on the back.

Horace Bushnell

Class of 1827

Born, April 14, 1802; Died, February 17, 1876

Theologian and Preacher

Dr. Bushnell stands out almost as prominently among the religious thinkers of New England in the nineteenth century as Jonathan Edwards does among those of the eighteenth. He was born on a farm at New Preston, in Litchfield County, Connecticut, and worked as a youth at a fulling mill. The atmosphere of his home and his early experiences in self-support gave him a sturdy common sense which seldom left him. The following from his *Age of Homespun* is a classic description of the Congregational meetinghouse which was the center of inspiration for the homely, noble life of rural New England in the early days of the nation. It may well be taken as entirely true in spirit, and doubtless it corresponds accurately, even in most of its details, to the conditions in the local church from which Bushnell gained so much:

> There is no affectation of seriousness in the assembly, no mannerism of worship; some would say, too little of the manner of worship. They think of nothing, in fact, save what meets their intelligence and enters into them by that method. They appear like men who have a digestion for strong meat, and have no conception that trifles more delicate can be of any account to feed the system. Nothing is dull that has the matter in it, nothing long that has not exhausted the matter. If the minister speaks in his great-coat and thick gloves or mittens, if the howling blasts of winter blow in across the assembly fresh streams of ventilation that move the hair upon their heads, they are none the less content if only he gives them good, strong exercise. Under their hard and, as some would say, stolid faces, great thoughts are brewing, and these keep them warm. Free-will, fixed fate, foreknowledge absolute, Trinity, redemption, special grace, eternity—give them anything high enough, and the tough muscle of their inward man will be climbing sturdily into it; and if they go away having something to think of, they have had a good day. A perceptible glow will kindle in their hard faces only when some one of the chief apostles—a Day, a Smith, or a Bellamy—has come to lead them up some higher pinnacle of thought, or pile upon their sturdy mind some heavier weight of argument; fainting never under any weight, even that which, to the foreign critics

of the discourses preached by them and others of their day, it seems impossible for any, the most cultivated audience in the world, to have supported. Oh these royal men of homespun, how great a thing to them was religion! . . . . If we find something to modify or soften in their over-rigid notions of Christian living, it is yet something to know that what we are they have made us, and that when we have done better for the ages that come after us we shall have a more certain right to blame their austerities.[1]

The above may stand not only as a description of the religious conditions which dominated his youth, but as an example of the rugged, straight-to-the-point style of Bushnell. This differentiates him from most theologians and gives him kinship to the prophets of old.

Bushnell did not enter college until he was twenty-one, eight years older than Jonathan Edwards (q.v.). He was already mature in many ways, but the long years of toil which preceded had only made more keen his passion for excelling in every task which he undertook. He does not seem to have had any deep spiritual experience or interest during his undergraduate days. He was admitted to regular communion in the College Church as a Freshman, and lived a life of the most exalted manliness and honor, but he did not take any prominent part in the religious activities of the students, probably owing to a growing spirit of theological uncertainty, perhaps also to his consuming love of study. Yet he found time to become prominent in the simple athletic sports of the day, excelling specially on the turning bar and with the discus. He sang in the college choir and was one of the founders of the Beethoven Society, before which he later delivered his well-known address on Religious Music. But these activities did not ever cause him to forget that intellectual work was, as it is and ever will be, the only legitimate major interest of a university student. He ranked well as a scholar and was a great reader, especially of Coleridge, whose *Aids to Reflection* influenced him more deeply[2] than any work which he read in college, and was always remembered by him with special gratitude.

[1] Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 209 and 499.

An organization in which he was specially interested was the Philencratian Society. It seems to have started in his class, and a majority of his classmates, including Durant (q.v.), T. Baldwin (q.v.), Adams (q.v.), and Willis (q.v.) were members. Bushnell represented his class on the committee which conducted its affairs. The purpose of the society was to promote temperance. As the author has seen no reference to it in print, the following sections of the constitution copied from the original record book in his possession are here given:

Section 1. No member of this Society while a member of the College and residing in New Haven shall under any circumstances drink to intoxication.

Section 2. No member shall use or cause to be used any kind of spirits in his room.

Section 3. No member shall make use of any distilled spirit out of his room—Provided however these rules shall not extend to cases where it is ordered by a Physician or to the use of it in private families where the common rules of politeness would render a refusal disagreeable.

Section 4. If a member shall transgress any of these rules and refuse acknowledgement, or persist in transgression, he shall be dismissed from the Society.

Section 5. It shall moreover be the duty of the President when informed of any such case or cases by any member of the Soc. to call a meeting of the same. Provided such meetings shall not be oftener than twice a term.

Section 6. It shall also be considered the duty of every member by all honorable means in his power to discountenance intemperance in others not members of the Society.

There are some estimates of his undergraduate life by contemporaries. The first is from his roommate:

He was a conscientious as well as a successful student. No college duties were neglected, none slighted. He was always master of his task. The intellectual characteristics which so pre-eminently distinguished him in after-life, winning him a name in this country and in Europe, were apparent in the undergraduate. He thought for himself, and he thought vigorously. There was no task to which he was called that he hesitated to attempt; and whatever he undertook he accomplished. There was a wonderful consciousness of power. I remember, when, on one occasion, I handed over to him the construction of a tragedy which had been assigned to me, I was struck with the confidence with which he girded himself to the task—a task which he executed with comparative ease and with great credit to himself.

His moral and social qualities were hardly less remarkable than his intellectual. He was frank and open as the day. Nothing mean could find a lodgment in his

breast. I never knew him to exhibit ill-temper. He was always kind, always cheerful. If there were times when I would *begin* to feel touched by some good-natured witticism of his, the germ would invariably flower into a hearty laugh. Witty and keen, his incisive shafts were always accompanied by so much playful good-humour that it was impossible to take offence. So we lived together. Dear, dear chum![3]

The Conic Sections Rebellion is one of the most famous episodes in the history of student life at Yale, and Bushnell played a prominent part in it. The disturbance seems to have been caused by a misunderstanding between the Faculty and students regarding the examination in Conic Sections. This contained questions on the Corollaries, whereas these had been omitted in the course of study, and it was definitely understood by the students that knowledge of them would not be required. When questions about them appeared on the examination papers the students were indignant, protested in vain, and finally "revolted." As a result only thirteen members remained in a class which had entered eighty-seven strong—the others had all been sent home by Faculty edict. Dr. McEwen thus describes Bushnell's attitude towards the whole affair:

I had been drawn out of the ranks of the rebels by my father's authority. But the ostracism I endured through those sad days was not worse than the dying by inches of men of character like Bushnell, waiting their turn for execution. One day, when passing South Entry, North Middle, lower floor, front side, corner room, a voice thrilled me: "Mac, come in here." It was Bushnell's. As I went in, his wan face stamped itself on me for life. He said, "Mac, I have to say to you that you have done your duty to your father in backing out. Do not mind what the fellows say. I am in for it, and I shall go through. But you have done right. Hold your head up." He was just the man that could not have failed to do his own heart as much good as he did mine by that act. How the boy did thank the man for that word! There was not another than Horace Bushnell that could have said it. . . . . Fully aware of the risk to his future, but with his uncompromising sense of justice kindled to white heat, he joined his class in their revolt. Nor, though he approved the young friend who had yielded to his father's authority, did he feel ashamed of his own course, or regret it, except on prudential grounds. He said in after-life that, though he thought a college rebellion a very boyish method of redress, he was still of the opinion that in this case there had been an unusual provocation, and that he could not, even in retrospect, condemn what he had done.[4]

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[4] Rev. Robert McEwen, D.D., in Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, p. 39.

The matter was finally settled, in so far as Bushnell was concerned, by his signing with nine others the following paper still preserved in the college archives, and dated August 10 [1825]: "We the undersigned having been led into a course of opposition to the government of Yale College, do acknowledge our fault in this resistance and promise on being restored to our standing in the class to yield a faithful obedience to the Laws."[5]

This experience undoubtedly was instrumental in developing Bushnell's powers of leadership, especially through the spoken word. He had not been successful in the unreal exercises in elocution then held for undergraduates, but now that there was a real issue, about which he had convictions, he became a forceful speaker, and later was conspicuous in the undergraduate debates on the Missouri Compromise, the Direct Election of the President by the People, etc. His power of written expression was well developed before he entered college, but the capacity to state his ideas in public speech was acquired as an undergraduate. In Senior year he was President of Brothers in Unity. To this debating society he was much attached. At its anniversary in his Sophomore year he delivered an address on the Republics of South America, and for a similar occasion in his Junior year he wrote a four-act tragedy, "Philip, or the Jealous King." His Oration at Commencement was "on some prevailing faults in the eloquence of the present time."

The poet Willis (q.v.) gives this characteristic glimpse of Bushnell as a Yale Senior. It is of special interest as bringing together two of the most talented men of their college generation. The rugged, straightforward vigor of the one, essentially a son of the soil, and the elaborately cultivated manners and style of the other, who was more of the Continental than of the American in type, make the incident described of added interest:

> Seniors and classmates at Yale, in 1827 we occupied the third story back, North College, North Entry—Bushnell in the northwest corner. As a student, our

[5] Papers Relating to College Discipline, 1821-1830.

classmate and neighbor was a black-haired, earnest-eyed, sturdy, carelessly dressed, athletic, and independent good fellow, popular, in spite of being both blunt and exemplary. . . . . The chapel bell was ringing us to prayers one summer morning; and Bushnell, on his punctual way, chanced to look in at the opposite door, where we were—with the longitudinal, straight come-and-go which we thought the philosophy of it—strapping our razor. (The beard was then a new customer of ours.) The pending shave was not to release us in time for more than the tutor's amen; but that was not the text of our classmate's sermon. "Why, man," said he, rushing in and seizing the instrument without ceremony, "is that the way you strap a razor?" He grasped the strap in his other hand, and we have remembered his tone and manner almost three hundred and sixty-five times a year ever since, as he threw out his two elbows, and showed us how it should be done. "By drawing it from heel to point both ways," said he, "thus—and thus—you make the two cross frictions correct each other"; and, dropping the razor with this brief lesson, he started on an overtaking trot to the chapel, the bell having stopped ringing as he scanned the improved edge with his equally sharp gray eye.[6]

In 1829, after brief experiences as literary editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce* and as school-teacher in Norwich, Connecticut, he returned to college as a tutor and as a student of law. He had charge of one-third of the Freshman class, and one of the first tasks assigned him—that of weeding out the incorrigibles—seems to have been performed with marked success. It was also due to his agency that the important change was made by which a tutor instructed through the course in a given subject, instead of as heretofore teaching the same men in all subjects.[7] But *the* event of his tutorship was the religious revival of 1831. This left a deep impress on the College in general and on Bushnell in particular. His part in it is thus described by a fellow-tutor:[8]

What, then, in this great revival was this man to do, and what was to become of him? Here he was in the glow of his ambition for the future, tasting keenly of a new success—his fine passage at arms in the editorial chair of a New York daily, ready to be admitted to the bar, successful and popular as a college instructor; but all at sea in doubt, and default religiously. That baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire compassed him all about. When the work was at its height, he and his division of students, who fairly worshipped him, stood unmoved apparently when all beside were in a glow. The band of tutors had established a daily meeting of

[6] Article in *Home Journal*, 1848, quoted in *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, p. 45.
[7] Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 58.
[8] Cheney, *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, quoting Dr. McEwen, pp. 55, 56.

their own, and all were now united in it but Bushnell. What days of travail and wondering those were for him! None dare approach him. He stood far more than *primus inter pares* among all. Only Henry Durant[9] tried carefully and cautiously to hit some joint in the armor. But even he, though free in his confidence, seemed to make no advance. When, all at once, the advance came boldly and voluntarily from Bushnell himself. Said he to Durant, "I must get out of this woe. Here am I what I am, and these young men hanging to me in their indifference amidst this universal earnestness on every side." And we are told what he said he was going to do—to invite these young men to meet him some evening in the week, when he would lay bare his position and their own, and declare to them his determination and the decision they ought with him to make for themselves.

Bushnell has himself preserved an account of his experiences at this time in his sermon, entitled "The Dissolving of Doubts." This was preached in the College Chapel. After giving a long description of a typical case in which doubt was dissolved, he added by way of parenthesis this brief autobiographic note: "There is a story lodged in the little bedroom of one of these dormitories, which, I pray God, his recording angel may note, allowing it never to be lost." The experience is worth recording in full in his own words:

Suppose that one of us, clear of all the vices, having a naturally active-minded, inquiring habit, occupied largely with thoughts of religion,—never meaning to get away from the truth, but, as he thinks, to find it, only resolved to have a free mind, and not allow himself to be carried by force or fear or any thing but real conviction,—suppose that such a one going on thus, year by year, reading, questioning, hearing all the while the gospel in which he has been educated, sometimes impressed by it, but relapsing shortly into greater doubt than before, finds his religious beliefs wearing out, and vanishing, he knows not how, till finally he seems to really believe nothing. He has not meant to be an atheist, but he is astonished to find that he has nearly lost the conviction of God, and can not, if he would, say with any emphasis of conviction that God exists. The world looks blank, and he feels that existence is getting blank also to itself. This heavy charge of his possibly immortal being oppresses him, and he asks again and again, "What shall I do with it?" His hunger is complete, and his soul turns every way for bread. His friends do not satisfy him. His walks drag heavily. His suns do not rise, but only climb. A kind of leaden aspect overhangs the world. Till finally, pacing his chamber some day, there comes up suddenly the question,—"Is there, then, no truth that I do believe?—Yes, there is this one, now that I think of it, there is a distinction of right and wrong, that I never doubted, and I see not how I can; I am even quite sure of it." Then, forthwith, starts up the question, "Have I, then, ever taken the

[9] (q.v.) Afterwards President of the University of California: a classmate of Bushnell.

HORACE BUSHNELL

CLASS OF 1827

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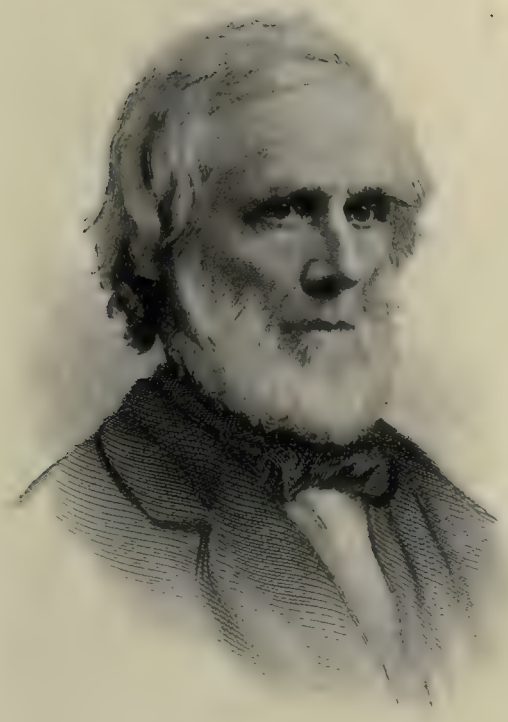


principle of right for my law? I have done right things as men speak, have I ever thrown my life out on the principle to become all it requires of me? No, I have not, consciously I have not. Ah! then here is something for me to do! No matter what becomes of my questions—nothing ought to become of them, if I can not take a first principle so inevitably true and live in it." The very suggestion seems to be a kind of revelation; it is even a relief to feel the conviction it brings. "Here, then," he says, "will I begin. If there is a God, as I rather hope there is, and very dimly believe, he is a right God. If I have lost him in wrong, perhaps I shall find him in right. Will he not help me, or, perchance, even be discovered to me?" Now the decisive moment is come. He drops on his knees, and there he prays to the dim God dimly felt, confessing the dimness for honesty's sake, and asking for help, that he may begin a right life. He bows himself on it as he prays, choosing it to be henceforth his unalterable, eternal endeavor.

It is an awfully dark prayer, in the look of it, but the truest and best he can make,—the better and more true that he puts no orthodox colors on it; and the prayer and the vow are so profoundly meant that his soul is borne up into God's help, as it were by some unseen chariot, and permitted to see the opening of heaven even sooner than he opens his eyes. He rises and it is as if he had gotten wings. The whole sky is luminous about him—it is the morning, as it were, of a new eternity. After this, all troublesome doubt of God's reality is gone, for he has found Him! A being so profoundly felt, must inevitably be.

Now this conversion, calling it by that name, as we properly should, may seem, in the apprehension of some, to be a conversion *for* the gospel and not *in* it or *by* it; a conversion by the want of truth, more than by the power of truth. But that will be a judgment more superficial than the facts permit. No, it is exactly this: it is seeking first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness,—exactly that and nothing less. And the dimly groping cry for help—what is that but a feeling after God, if haply it may find him, and actually finding him not far off? And what is the help obtained, but exactly the true Christ-help? And the result—what also is that, but the Kingdom of God within; righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost?

This event may be justly described as the turning point in his life. Up to this time he was not sure what to make his career—teaching, law, literary work, all interested him, but he had not yet any sense of a definite mission. He had stood rather aloof from religious activities as an undergraduate, he had performed with diffidence and some reluctance the tutor's duty of occasionally conducting prayers, he had not at first been interested in the "revival"—but now all was different. Religion became his passion. He had passed through a

[10] Bushnell, *Sermons on Living Subjects*, pp. 175-178.

transforming experience, and the ministry was now his goal. The manuscript of his address to the students on taking leave of them as tutor is in the Yale Library. He refers to the unusually happy relations that have existed between them and then preaches a lay sermon which may be summed up in this extract: "While you devote yourselves therefore to the cultivation of your minds let it be a point of equal importance to cultivate all those other qualities which go to make up a desirable character."

He soon entered the Yale Divinity School, then under the inspiring direction of Dr. Taylor (q.v.), and in 1833 went to Hartford, where he remained as pastor for a quarter of a century. He was not only a great religious force, but he was the foremost citizen of his city. The park where the State House stands was appropriately named after him as it was secured largely through his foresight.

He has been called "the preacher's preacher," as his thought appealed particularly to students of religion and of theology who were seeking a faith that would satisfy mind as well as heart. To his preaching more than to that of anyone else of his day is due the liberalizing and humanizing of the creeds of the conservative churches of New England. He was specially influential as a preacher in the Yale Chapel. President Dwight is authority for the statement that he "awakened greater interest" among the students than any of the preachers of the middle of the last century. He gives this analysis of his power:

> The originality of his mind; his striking presentation of his thoughts and their peculiar richness; his style and use of language which were so characteristic of the man and were so fitted to excite attention; the very differences of his views from those of most of his contemporaries of his own order, and the new visions of truth which he opened and made beautiful—all alike, and in their union with each other, rendered him exceedingly attractive to young men whose intellectual powers were waking to manly activity and to the enjoyment of their personal thinking.[11]

He was for many years a theological storm center, especially for his book, *God in Christ,* in which his language explaining the doctrine

[11] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 85. Cf. Bacon, *Theodore Thornton Munger,* p. 57.

of the Trinity did not satisfy his more conservative colleagues. Among his other theological works are *Christ in Theology, The Vicarious Sacrifice,* and *Nature and the Supernatural.* A very different book, but one whose influence has been deeply felt in thousands of American homes, was *Christian Nurture.* It inculcated a sensible and natural method of family religious instruction for the young, rather than the then all too customary dependence on occasional periods of great excitement. His theological positions, when he took issue with the inherited orthodoxy, seem to a later generation so reasonable that it is hard to realize what a commotion they caused. Here, for example, is a beautiful summary of his doctrine of Christ which should satisfy the spiritually minded for many generations:

> Stating it most briefly, "Christ is a manifestation in humanity of the Eternal Life of the Father,—entering into a prison-world to set its soul-captives free; by his incarnate charities and sufferings, to re-engage the world's love and reunite it to the Father; in one condensed, luminous utterance, every word of which is power, God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself."[12]

The main significance of his thought is in his return to Nature. He tried to harmonize the natural world and the spiritual world by showing God behind both and in both. He was a poet rather than a metaphysician, and consequently used the language of symbolism, not that of dry logic. For dogmatic definitions he cared little, but he had the imagination to discern the kernel beneath the shell in the creeds of Christendom. In fact it was the combination of a rare imaginative gift with shrewd Yankee common sense that made this "God-intoxicated man" such a wise leader in a time of theological transition.

There is unfortunately no visible memorial to Bushnell at Yale, except an excellent portrait in the Dining Hall, but his noble Oration at the Commemorative Celebration in July, 1865, in honor of the Yale men who helped to preserve the Union, was published by the University. It will be a lasting monument of his devotion both to

[12] Bushnell, *God in Christ,* p. 197.

his country and to his Alma Mater.[13] He also delivered a discourse before the alumni in 1843, published under the title of *Modern Tendencies and Results of Human History.* Yale conferred upon him in his later years the degree of Doctor of Laws, while he received the Doctorate of Divinity from Harvard and Wesleyan in middle life.

In President Gilman's address at the Bicentennial occurs this eloquent passage:

> The name of Horace Bushnell is a precious heirloom handed down from the Yale of the last century to the Yale of the present. He was an orator, a poet, a lover of nature and of man, fearless, original, persuasive, too liberal for the conservatives, too conservative for the liberals of that day, now honored in both their schools. Horace Bushnell is the greatest of this group. Indeed I should place him, in genius, next to Jonathan Edwards.[14]

There are two important biographies: *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell,* by his daughter, Mrs. Cheney, and Dr. Munger's suggestive *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian.*

[But when all these things are right how lofty and blessed and pure] is this work of preaching Christ to men. What other human being has a footing as high. What other mind is pitched in a key so unworldly so ennobling to thought and so closely drawn to God. Who is a benefactor of mankind so nearly divine. O that you my brethren who are in this blessed calling could be always in this feeling, and never forget, how blessed it is. Do you ever in your weakness think otherwise, crucify that thought as the evidence of something wrong in you and turn yourself back in true repentance to be worthier of the honor and privilege God puts upon you. What can you do in such a calling as this if you get weary of it and grow slack in the performance, God forgive any dry soul that cannot be moistened here.

A word in conclusion to this Christian flock and to our brother who is now to be set among them and be the voice of God and of Christ to them and their children. Do not require him to be your orator but what is far above all that the Preacher of God's truth. If you begin to turn yourselves into an Admiration Society and say among yourselves like the foolish Lycaonians that you have [the chief speaker and the God Mercury this connection will be a

[13] He delivered the Yale Phi Beta Kappa address in 1837, entitled *True Wealth and Weal of Nations,* and an important address before the Sheffield Scientific School in 1870, on "The New Education."

[14] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* p. 340.

most wretched affair both for you and for him. Want nothing of him but that he shall be the good news to you.][15]

This extract forms the sixty-sixth and sixty-seventh pages of Bushnell's manuscript sermon on "Oratory and Preaching." It was based on the passage in Acts xiv: 12, where the Lycaonians called Paul Mercury "because he was the chief speaker." It is a good example of Bushnell's power to get to the heart of a subject and to present it appealingly. The manuscript is a gift of Dr. Bushnell's daughter, Mrs. Frank Cheney, who has appended to it this note:

This sermon in the form here given was first preached as an Installation Sermon in Unionville, Conn., in December, 1864. Two years later it was recast and in quite different form was delivered as an Anniversary address before the Porter Rhetorical Society of Andover Seminary. In 1881 it was published in its revised form under the title of Pulpit Talent, in a posthumous volume of "Literary Varieties" by Dr. Bushnell, entitled "Building Eras in Religion."

[15] Square brackets here indicate context from adjoining pages of manuscript.

Peter Parker

Class of 1831

Born, June 18, 1804; Died, January 10, 1888

Founder of Modern Medical Missions

Dr. Peter Parker has undisputed right to the title at the head of this page, and consequently his work makes him an historical figure in the spread of Christian civilization. He was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, and entered Amherst College, but the institution was then in its infancy, and its intellectual opportunities were so meager that he left in the course of Junior year. He at first thought favorably of Harvard, but he was dissuaded by some conservative ministers who informed him that "the situation of the College was such as to render it not desirable for pious students to go there at present"! So he chose Yale, making this entry in his journal:

I humbly resolve in reference to my expected residence at New Haven as follows:

First. I resolve to observe a season of secret devotion three times a day, unless something extraordinary prevents.

Second. I resolve that I will endeavor to improve better my opportunities of hearing preaching. If I think best, when I arrive there, I will have a book for taking notes of the sermons I hear during their delivery, or at least of the subjects.

Third. I resolve to keep what shall be styled my Senior Diary, in which I will write at least one line every day till I see cause to alter the resolution.

Fourth. I resolve to be especially temperate in eating, perusing frequently Professor H[itchcock]'s Lectures on Health.

The habit of making pious "resolutions" has its roots deep in New England psychology. It may be seen in its most exalted form in the early life of Jonathan Edwards (q.v.), while the "consecration" of Sylvester Judd (q.v.) is an almost equally noble and more modern example. Parker entered Yale with enthusiasm, and his sense of obligation to the University continued through life.[1] He had to pass a test covering all the work of the first two years. He

[1] On his return from China he was President of the Yale Alumni Association in Washington.

refers to this in his journal: "It has been tedious, but such is my passion to be a member of this college, that I can undergo anything with cheerfulness."[2] When he had successfully passed, he remarks: "Blessed be the day that decided me on coming to Yale . . . ." and immediately dispatched a letter to his mother:

I am much pleased with President Day. He is very kind and obliging, and appears ready to show me all the favor in his power. I expect to serve as a waiter in the dining hall a part of the year, at least, and this will pay my board. I can have my books from a benevolent society free of expense. I have purchased me a bedstead and mattress of moss for $4.25, and my bedding is furnished by a benevolent society.[3]

His journal is full of the spirit of keen appreciation of his new opportunities. He enters heartily into every side of the broad life of the College. A week after his matriculation he joins the literary society of Brothers in Unity. Here is the entry describing the event, and breathing the air of undergraduate enthusiasm which Yale men always like:

Such an exhibition of fraternal and friendly feeling I never before witnessed. Address from the president of the society, developing superior talent and refined sentiment, also from Esquire Mix, a member of the Society, an extemporaneous speech calculated to render the new members not only satisfied with their choice of societies, but highly gratified. I feel I am in danger of being too much elated with my happy situation. I think the scenes of this evening will be as lasting as memory, and it may be that friendships are formed this evening which will end only with life.

Before the beginning of the second term he again indulges in that habit of self-examination which was so exaggerated by our ancestors as often to produce morbidness, but for which, in some form, there is always need. There resulted these somewhat commonplace but sensible resolutions:

1. Will make myself thoroughly acquainted with the regular studies for the term.

2. In reading will endeavor so to understand as to be able to give account of what I have read, though I read the less.

3. Will associate with my fellow students as much as my time or other duties will allow.

[2] *Life, Letters and Journals of the Rev. and Hon. Peter Parker*, p. 36.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4. Will observe particularly such as I esteem models of good breeding in its higher sense.

5. Will endeavor to cultivate my conversational powers and strive to be agreeable both as a Christian, a student, and a friend.

6. Will allow circumstances to determine how often to write in my diary and how much.[4]

He gives us an interesting account of his Senior year studies. These were broader than we are apt to think. A rigid curriculum does not necessarily mean a narrow one, and the influence of Silliman and others had given science a large place in the prescribed work of the last year. Few would wish today to return to the course of studies of the early nineteenth century, especially with drill work in the classics and mathematics absorbing most of the time of the first three years, but not many students under a "group" or elective system have a better rounded Senior program than that outlined for the class of 1831:

The studies of the present year have been truly elevating and ennobling to the mind. By anatomy I have been made acquainted with my own material system, the framework, the union of the several parts, and their requisite functions; whilst Locke, Stewart, and Brown have rendered me acquainted with the mind, its occupant, and the mental powers and operations. Geology has made me acquainted with the awful history of my birthplace; chemistry, with the constitution of the various elements; botany, with the names and physiology of all the individuals of the vegetable kingdom which extends over no small portion of its surface; astronomy leads to an acquaintance, or contemplation at least, of the whole universe. Natural theology has pointed me to the proofs of an all-designing and infinite mind; and to complete the climax, the descent of the Holy Spirit has wonderfully displayed the riches of redeeming grace.[5]

During the latter part of his course he became deeply interested in foreign missions, the stimulus being, apparently, the special religious services then being held at the College. These resulted in the most far-reaching "revival" in Yale history.[6] We find him devoting a day (in vacation) entirely to prayer and meditation, and taking the lead in forming the United Band of Foreign Missionaries of Yale, organized along lines similar to the more modern Student

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[6] Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 83.

Volunteer Band.[7] He wrote a series of searching questions[8] regarding the missionary call, analyzing his personal duty in the matter as objectively as possible. He was also greatly helped by talks with Professor Goodrich (B.A. 1810) and with Rev. Dr. Bacon (q.v.). His letter to the American Board offering his services, in October, 1831, contains a statement of the careful way in which he reached his decision. It did not represent a momentary emotion, but a deeply founded intellectual and spiritual conviction.

> Whether it is my duty and privilege to become a foreign missionary is a question which has long and deeply interested my heart, and in settling a subject so materially affecting the entire range of my existence, and probably the destiny of many others, I have not merely availed myself of the prayers and counsel of my friends and benefactors, but have, by reading, fasting, and prayer, endeavored in the fear of God to investigate the subject for myself. . . . .[9]

The manuscript records of the monthly "concert of prayer" instituted by the beneficiaries of the American Education Society in Yale College show his earnest interest in the cause of missions throughout his Senior year. Here is a characteristic quotation:

> Brother Parker, who is about leaving us, in the graduating class, offered some interesting & soul-stirring thoughts on the importance of unreservedly devoting ourselves to the service of God either in our own or in foreign lands. The duty of cherishing a Missionary Spirit was strongly urged.[10]

The University Library preserves the records of the Society for Christian Research. This was established in the Theological Seminary in 1825, and was for many years a strong factor in creating an interest in Christian missions. It had standing committees on Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, "People of Colour," and Correspondence. Parker was active in the society and, when a professional student, delivered before it an address on China which made a deep impression. "He was completely at home in his subject & it was divided in such a manner as to present the more prominent points

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[8] *Life, Letters and Journals of the Rev. and Hon. Peter Parker*, p. 44.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[10] MS. Records of the Monthly Concert of Prayer, for September 6, 1831. This organization was established in January, 1827.

of his subject in an easy & impressive view before the mind."[11] In a letter under date of November 25, 1831, he gives an interesting picture of the way in which he was fitting himself to become a medical missionary:

> You will better understand what I mean by unprecedented pressure of duties, if I enumerate some of them. I arise at half-past five in the morning, and attend prayers in the Seminary. From this till breakfast, at half-past six, study Hebrew or Greek. From eight to ten, again study Hebrew or Greek. From ten to eleven, attend Dr. Ives' lecture on the theory and practice of medicine. From eleven to twelve I am engaged in Miss Hotchkiss' school. From twelve to one, attend Dr. Knight's lecture on anatomy. From two to three P.M., a recitation to Professor Gibbs in Hebrew or Greek. From three to four I have a class in chemistry, or Paley's Theology, then one hour for exercises, and the remainder of the day for study and attending meetings.[12]

Yale has been from the days of Brainerd (q.v.) on, and especially from the beginning of the nineteenth century, a center of student religious activity, but it was from Parker's time, and due largely to his efforts, that a society was established with the specific purpose of creating interest in the conversion of the non-Christian world. His journal tells the story:

> December 4, 1831, Sabbath evening. I bless God that a Society of Foreign Missions has at length been formed this night, consisting of nine members, all from the college except myself. May God adopt it as his child, educate it, employ it in his service, and bless it abundantly to the salvation of the heathen, and to him shall be the glory.[13]

The international and permanent significance of Dr. Parker's work as the founder of modern medical missions is so great that much space has been given to his preparation, which, for the time, was an unusually thorough one. The American Board, whose affiliations with Yale have always been close, was his natural sponsor. Its Prudential Committee sent him these instructions, which may be considered the charter of the beneficent movement which has spread in the latter half of the nineteenth century over Asia and Africa:

> The medical and surgical knowledge you have acquired, you will employ, as

[11] MS. Records of the Society for Christian Research, for January 29, 1833.
[12] *Life, Letters and Journals of the Rev. and Hon. Peter Parker*, p. 57.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

you have opportunity, in relieving the bodily afflictions of the people. You will also be ready, as you can, to aid in giving to them our arts and sciences. But these, you will never forget, are to receive your attention only as they can be made handmaids to the gospel. The character of a physician, or of a man of science, respectable as they are, or useful as they may be in evangelizing China—you will never suffer to supersede or interfere with your character of a teacher of religion.

Your first business will be to acquire both the written and spoken languages of the Chinese. And see that you acquire them accurately and thoroughly. It may require two or three years of close and unremitted study. But let not the thought enter your mind that you are spending so much time unprofitably. And let no other call, however pressing it may seem, divert you from this pursuit. Meanwhile you will, as opportunity shall present, be making yourself acquainted with the people, their manners and customs; gathering information that may be serviceable in your future labors.[14]

Parker sailed for China, and on November 4, 1835, opened the Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton. Although originally intended to treat only diseases of the eye, its field was later broadened to cover other maladies. Two thousand patients were admitted the first year. The pressure for entrance was so great that at times patients were received on only one day in two weeks. Even then the line of applicants, rich and poor alike, would often form at midnight outside the hospital doors. In spite of his surgical skill and fame, he always considered that his main purpose was to open the doors of China to the Gospel of Christ, and he frequently preached to the patients collectively and individually. In 1840, when war broke out between England and China, the hospital was suspended while he visited the United States, only to return again in 1842 with a larger force. During the first two decades of operation, 53,000 patients[15] were under treatment.

Dr. Parker rendered important diplomatic services to his country in China, acting as Secretary, Interpreter, Chargé d'Affaires, and finally, from 1855 to 1857, as a Commissioner with Hon. Caleb Cushing to revise the treaty between the two countries. In the latter capacity he was of important indirect service in securing the tolera-

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[15] For this and other details, see *Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Divinity School of Yale College*, pp. 55-57 and 103-107.

tion of Christianity in China. Provision had been made in one of the articles for the leasing of ground and the erection of buildings for business and other specified purposes at the treaty ports, when one of the Chinese representatives, whose father and mother had been his patients, "knowing the gratification it would afford" Dr. Parker, suggested the addition of the words "and Temples of Worship." With the coöperation of the French Ambassador, and especially of Dr. S. Wells Williams, later Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature at Yale, the Chinese Commissioner memorialized the Throne on the subject, and secured favorable action extending Christian toleration throughout the Empire. "When the entering wedge *'Urh he pae T'ang,' 'and Temples of Worship'* was introduced in the seventeenth article of the American treaty, I felt that to be instrumentally *subservient* to its accomplishment was of itself worth the life-labors of any one man."[16]

In 1857 he returned to America, making Washington his home. He was intimate with many of the most distinguished men of his time. He became a Corporate Member of the American Board, a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and an active supporter of the Evangelical Alliance. But his title to fame and to gratitude rests on his earlier career as the "Father of Medical Missions." His life may be studied in detail in the volume referred to above, prepared by Professor Stevens. There is a portrait of him belonging to the University, painted by a Chinese artist who had studied under an English master. But perhaps his best Yale memorial are some words written on Cushing's return from China, when Parker was asked by the American government to continue his important diplomatic work. These are here reproduced, as they show how the thought of Alma Mater may be an inspiration to a strong man facing hard problems in life:

> The magnitude of the mission now in hand has presented itself forcibly to my mind, and my own subordinate relation to it. I know not what suggested it, but

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

the thought occurred to me, Could my friends in New Haven, the Faculty of dear old Yale, and my classmates know where I am, how much would they expect of me! how earnestly they would exhort me to do my utmost![17]

Peter Parker was really four times a Yale graduate, for in addition to his Arts diploma, and to theological studies for which no degree was then given, he took his M.D. in 1834, and was later given an honorary degree by the University.

New York Feb. 15th 1841

My dear Brother,

I have at length returned to this city having passed through many scenes of interest & having done some things that I pray may redound to the glory of God & the good of China. The opportunity of addressing the members of the Senate & House of Representatives & others (in the Hall of the House of Rep[s]) upon the subject of China, was particularly gratifying, in connection with the fact that some public measure may be soon adopted concerning that country. The house was full & the attention & silence were such as always become the house of God. A lively interest seemed to be manifested throughout the service. . . . . I have reason to hope that the object for which I visited Washington will receive the early attention of the Heads of the department of State & if my suggestions shall be of service in the formation of their plans, my visit to this country will not be in vain. . . . .

Yours Aff[y]

P. Parker.

[To Professor Salisbury, New Haven]

In a published address at the Yale Divinity School[18] Dr. Parker refers to this visit to Washington. It was made with Rev. Dr. Bacon, on the urgent advice of members of the Yale Faculty, to explain to the government the Chinese situation. He said: "We called on Mr. Webster, Secretary of State elect. He listened attentively to the information respecting China, and the suggestions submitted in relation to our own government. On taking leave, Mr. Webster rose up and with a grave voice said, 'What you have now stated to me *orally*, will you be so good, Sir, as to give me in *writing*, for the benefit of

[17] *Yale Alumni Weekly*, for 1911-12, p. 727.
[18] *Semi-centennial Anniversary of the Divinity School of Yale College*, p. 104.

whom it may concern? . . . .' When the Hon. Caleb Cushing came out as U. S. Envoy to China, in 1844, and Com. James Biddle, with ratified treaty for exchange, in 1846, each had a copy of that paper, and essentially the programme there initiated has since been carried out by our government." Relatively few Americans in private life have received the honor accorded to Dr. Parker of addressing a joint session of Congress.

Hiram Bingham

Class of 1853

Born, August 16, 1831; Died, October 25, 1908

Missionary and Translator

Hiram Bingham was the son of one of the most influential of the early missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands. He was born in Honolulu, where he remained until coming to America at the age of ten. He prepared for college at Williston Seminary, and as an undergraduate proved himself to be a man of excellent mental parts. The Book of Averages shows that at his first Biennial examination his stand was 2.50, but that at the second, at the end of Senior year, he secured the exceptionally high rating of 3.91, which easily entitled him to Phi Beta Kappa. He won an Astronomical Prize and delivered a Dissertation at the Junior Exhibition on "Civil and Religious Liberty, the Ultimate Result of Civilization." At graduation he had an Oration stand and spoke on a subject that was always dear to him—"The Civilization and Destiny of the Sandwich Islands." His college career was typical of the hard-working man of small means in the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time students receiving beneficiary aid—as distinct from a competitive scholarship—were not expected to join secret societies, except the large organizations of Freshman year, when Bingham belonged to Delta Kap. A discriminating classmate refers to this fact, and continuing, writes:

> He consequently mingled less intimately with many of his classmates, but was thoroughly respected nevertheless. He scored with them all at the outset by his athletic prowess in the football match then customary between Freshmen and Sophomores on the Green behind Trinity Church. The serious-minded valued him also for his consistent life as a religious man. His intimacies were with those who regularly attended the class prayer-meetings, and with others who made their studies their chief concern. He was no recluse, however, but was fond of physical exercise, though hardly any apparatus for it then existed. On one of his summer vacations, imitating an adventure of John Ledyard, he with his classmate Twining boated down the Connecticut from the vicinity of Hanover, N. H., to the Sound, or near it.

He came to College at eighteen years of age with a good inheritance, which College influences confirmed and developed into a noble type of manhood.[1]

The reference to the football game recalls the fact that in Sophomore year his class, assisted by the Seniors, defeated the regular Freshman-Junior coalition. An old broadside—*The Sophomores' Song of Victory, October 13 1852*—tells the story, and has an amusing allusion to Bingham's tall form:

The ball hit Bingham's head;
And had it been a Soph'more kick,
Poor Bingham had been dead.

But fortunately he was not, and doubtless he joined heartily in the class chorus,

Hi! Soph'mores! Ho! Soph'mores!
Where is Fifty-four
To play a game with Fifty-five,
For Fifty-six's no more!

These football games of the fifties produced a great amount of undergraduate excitement, culminating in the fall of 1853 in the match between the classes of '56 and '57. Bingham's prowess was still remembered and was thus immortalized in another broadside—*The Bawl of the Bottle:*

O Barker where is thy boasted speed;
Would that Bingham was here in length,
To lend thee legs, to lend thee strength,
Brave Fifty-three's Kanaka.

But to return to more serious matters. The records of the Yale College Missionary Society show that Bingham was one of the leaders in creating an interest in world evangelization among the students. In view of his future career, the following Senior year entry is especially suggestive:

Mr. Bingham called the attention of the Society to the recent most interesting movements in Micronesia showing at the same time the hand of God in this almost unnoticed Group of Islands & the zeal of God's people in the Sandwich Islands by whom missions among them are being projected.[2]

[1] Letter from Rev. James M. Whiton, Class Secretary of '53, November 25, 1912.
[2] Yale College Missionary Society, MS. Records for February 14, 1853.

Towards the end of this year his purpose to go out as a missionary seems to have become definite, for he refers to the hope that "in God's providence he may be permitted to labor for his Divine Master in foreign lands."

After graduation he taught school and studied theology, being ordained to the Congregational ministry in New Haven in 1856. In the same year he sailed from Boston on the first *Morning Star*. It took almost a year to reach the Gilbert Islands. He preached, taught, and studied for seven years on the coral island of Apaiang, in the midst of great privations, which his wife shared. It was here that he began the noteworthy task of providing the people with a written language and of laying the foundations for his life work—the creation, through translation, of a literature for the natives. Ill health forced him to spend most of his later life in Honolulu, although the islands of Micronesia were frequently drawing him back. The Gilbertese were always uppermost in his mind, and as many of them had come to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations, he accepted for a time the position of Inspector and Protector of South Sea Immigrants.

Some idea of the general conditions which prevailed when he began his missionary labors may be derived from the following autobiographical statement:

> We landed as pioneers at Apaiang, Nov. 18, 1857. In less than three months after our landing our little boy, who died in birth, came to us only to be buried from our sight. His little body rested beneath the cocoa's shade until 1869, when savages from the neighboring island of Zarawa disinterred the remains and scattered the precious dust to the four winds of heaven.[3]

This single incident is worth pages of description and comment. Yet hardships and difficulties meant nothing to him. He derived his greatest joy from "trying to bring ignorant heathen to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ."[4]

His enduring monument is the moral transformation of the people of the Gilbert Islands as a result of the foundations which he

[3] *Yale College Class of 1853* (1883), pp. 55, 56.
[4] *The Class of Fifty-Three in Yale College* (1903), p. 14.

laid. The translation of the entire Bible, the preparation of a grammar, an English-Gilbertese Dictionary of eleven thousand words, a Hymn and Tune book, a commentary on most of the New Testament, and a Bible Dictionary, are among the labors successfully accomplished by Dr. Bingham, with the help of his devoted wife. Yale honored herself by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the fortieth anniversary of his graduation, while his classmates have shown their respect by erecting recently a tablet to his memory in Memorial Hall. His life work was thus summed up by the Class Secretary[5] at its dedication:

> Bingham navigated his own ship around the extremity of the Southern Continent to his station in the far Pacific, and there reduced a barbarous language to writing, instituted education, built up a Christian community, by slow degrees translated the Scriptures into the native tongue, provided hymns and music for the churches he established, and lived by the grace of God to see the semi-centennial of his landing on the little island of Apaiang celebrated by the Gilbertese Association of Evangelical churches, which commemorated the occasion by ordaining six additional ministers to these churches.[6]

On the same occasion, Hon. Andrew D. White (B.A. 1853), one of the most eminent of Yale's living graduates, made the principal address. In it are these words:

> Among the classmates whom we have lost were others, in Church, in State, in literature, in scholarship, who held places many of us have envied more, and which the world considers higher; why, then, when we wish to leave with our Alma Mater the names which we must not willingly let die, do we unanimously offer these? The answer is simple. We name these men because their ideals were highest, and because they sacrificed most to make those ideals real. . . . . These names, then, of Hiram Bingham, Jr., and of Charles Harding[7] we deliver over to our beloved Alma Mater to be forever kept among her most precious and most sacred treasures.

For consecrated and intelligent devotion to the cause of Christian civilization in a neglected corner, nothing can be found finer than the life work of Hiram Bingham. Had it been accomplished among a conspicuous people, it would have given him a prominent place in

[5] Rev. James M. Whiton, June 29, 1909. See account of dedication in *Alumni Weekly*.

[6] This and the following quotation are taken from a small pamphlet entitled *Presentation to Yale University of a Memorial Tablet by the Class of 1853.*

[7] A devoted missionary in India.

the world's hall of fame. That it was not does not decrease the importance of the achievement from the standpoint either of Christian service or of intellectual triumph. The fact remains that he reduced to writing the language of about fifty thousand people, and provided them with the means of permanent mental, moral, and religious improvement.

A letter which he wrote in December, 1881, to the Class Secretary concludes with this characteristically modest statement, which also reflects his abiding Yale loyalty:

> I have tried in an humble way to do what I could during the last quarter of century toward the building up of the kingdom of Christ in these islands of the Pacific, and in this work I desire to continue till called hence. To meet once more on earth with classmates would be very pleasant, but if not with you in body I shall wish for you a delightful reunion; and shall justly pride myself in belonging to "the famous class of '53." Long live the class![8]

Honolulu, H., Jan 20, 1905

My dear Whiton,

. . . . I shall remember with pleasure my visit with you in New Haven. How the deaths of Lewis, Gilbert and Dowd impress it upon us that we all are mortal, and that our classmates with ourselves will soon have passed on into that future life. . . . . I had seemed refreshed and strengthened by my six months absence from here in a more bracing climate, and it appeared as though I might be good for three or more years more labor for the Gilbertese; but I must remember that it will be necessary for me to take things very moderately. I had begun my Gilbertese commentary on Acts. . . . .

Affectionately yours,

H. Bingham.

That the welfare of the Gilbert Islanders was the ever dominant interest of his life, even in his enforced absence from them, is well illustrated by this letter to the devoted Class Secretary of 1853. His reference to his New Haven visit recalls the fact that he pronounced the benediction at the Commencement Dinner, when his tall, apostolic figure commanded instant respect and attention.

[8] *Yale College Class of 1853* (1883), p. 59.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

John Sergeant (Class of 1729), Born, 1710; Died, 1749.

He was one of the most eminent and successful of early missionaries to the Indians, and a pioneer of modern industrial training as represented by such schools as Hampton Institute. An eighteenth century biographer gives this account of his undergraduate career:

He enter'd *Yale College*, at *New Haven*, in the *Colony* of *Connecticut*, *September* 1725, where the Comeliness of his Person, the Sweetness of his Temper, the Decency of his Behaviour, the Agreeableness of his Conversation, the Diligence with which he apply'd himself to, and the Progress he made in, his Studies, gain'd him the Esteem, not only of his Companions, but also of the Governours of the College.[1]

He gave up a Yale tutorship—"leaving my business at College which was the most agreeable to me that could be"[2]—to become a missionary to the Indians in Western Massachusetts. He started at Stockbridge the work afterwards continued by Jonathan Edwards.

The letter is addressed to Rev. Stephen Williams, one of the Deerfield captives, who at the age of ten was carried off by Indians to Canada. Sergeant offers him "a trotting horse good for the saddle as well as collar" for sixteen pounds.

No portrait is known.

Joseph Bellamy (Class of 1735), Born, 1718-19; Died, 1790.

One of the most famous preachers and teachers of divinity in New England in the eighteenth century. A disciple of Edwards. He was very censorious of his theological opponents. President Stiles names many ministers whom he had either "gutted" or "stabbed"! Several of his books were published in London and Edinburgh. For many years the school in his country parsonage was a favorite resort for rusticated Yale students; in some instances the "President and Tutors" even requested the reverend doctor to take under his care a difficult "case."

The letter was written in 1763 from Bethlehem, Connecticut, where Dr. Bellamy was pastor for half a century. It is addressed to another eminent

[1] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs relating to the Houssatunnack Indians*, p. 148.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

divine, Rev. Samuel Hopkins (q.v.). It refers to current theological discussions, and ends with this interesting evidence of Jonathan Edwards' contemporary fame: "A volume of Miscellanies out of Mr. Edwards would sell better than anything—had I liberty & should I have health, I would be willing to collect & prepare for the press such a volume. . . . ."

No portrait is known.

NATHANIEL EMMONS (Class of 1767), Born, 1745; Died, 1840.

A man of striking personality and power as a preacher and theological writer. Nearly one hundred ministers were trained by him. He has always been classed among the leading spirits of the New England Theology. Professor Williston Walker states that "no man of his age was more widely a force in the religious life of New England."[3] He was the leader in introducing the principle of complete democratic self-government among the Congregational churches, and was noted for his homely aphorisms. At least one of these is still current: "First, have something to say: Second, say it." During the last few years of his life he was the oldest living graduate of the College, and a very picturesque one, too, wearing, as he did to the end, the cocked hat, satin breeches, and large silver knee and shoe buckles of the olden time.

EDWARD DORR GRIFFIN (Class of 1790), Born, 1770; Died, 1837.

As an undergraduate he was a high scholar and gained contemporary renown as the author of the first play written for the Linonian Society.[4] After a successful career in the pastorate, Dr. Griffin became in turn Professor of Rhetoric in the Andover Theological Seminary and President of Williams College. "He was beyond question one of the most eloquent and pungent preachers of modern days."[5]

A letter of commendation given to a young man about to enter the Auburn Theological Seminary is added: "He is a professor, a consistent professor of religion; has a well balanced mind; is amiable & discreet; & I doubt not will become dear to you."

BENNET TYLER (Class of 1804), Born, 1783; Died, 1858.

Dr. Tyler held several important pastorates and was President of Dartmouth College. His most conspicuous work was as a conservative theological

[3] Walker, *History of American Congregationalism*, p. 300.
[4] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, p. 315.
[5] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. IV, p. 670.

leader. He was first President and virtual founder of the East Windsor, now Hartford, Theological Seminary. The battle between "Taylorism and Tylerism" is well known in Connecticut religious history. Among Dr. Tyler's writings is the *Memoir of Rev. Asahel Nettleton* (B.A. 1809), the evangelist, whom Lyman Beecher believed to have been the most useful man of his generation in America. The Library has two of Tyler's Latin compositions submitted as an undergraduate to President Stiles.

The title page of a presentation copy of one of Dr. Tyler's theological pamphlets, with signature, takes the place of the usual autograph letter.

WILLIAM HEATHCOTE DELANCEY (Class of 1817), Born, 1797; Died 1865.

Bishop DeLancey was always interested in the Episcopal Church. Even while an undergraduate he was instrumental in establishing a parish in Mamaroneck. He was connected with many important churches, and was for years the assistant of the venerable Bishop White of Pennsylvania. He was eminently successful as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, taking hold of the institution when it was run down and with only twenty-one students, and leaving it well established. He was the first Bishop of the diocese of Western New York, and did much to strengthen Hobart College and the General Theological Seminary. He was highly honored in England, where he was the first American to assist in the consecration of an English Bishop. Oxford gave him a Doctorate of Civil Laws, Union a Doctorate of Laws, and Yale the Doctorate of Divinity, the last at the unusually early age of thirty-one. Few men have had a broader influence in the building up of the American Episcopal Church.

The letter is addressed to President Woolsey, approving the proposed conferring of an honorary degree upon Dr. Henry DuBois, a well-known physician, and father of Professor DuBois (Ph.B. 1859).

ELI SMITH (Class of 1821), Born, 1801; Died, 1857.

Dr. Smith was a missionary in Syria, to whose scholarship and industry the world is indebted for the admirable translation of the entire New Testament and most of the Old into Arabic. To his accurate geographical, linguistic, and historical knowledge is due much of the value of the important books on Palestine published by his traveling companion, Dr. Edward Robinson. He delivered a published address at the Yale Divinity School in 1840 on *The Missionary Character.*

The letter was written in 1852 from Bhamdûn, the village on Mount Lebanon, in Syria, where Dr. Smith had his summer home. It is addressed to Dr. Robinson, to whom he sends his Aleppo journal for literary use. There is an interesting reference to his translation of the Bible into Arabic: "I began Matt. in the Translation Sept 1st & am now [Sept 13th] in the 7th chap." Dr. Smith's handwriting is extraordinary for its evident deliberateness. Adjoining letters are generally unconnected and even the different strokes of an "M" or "N" are separately made.

WILLIAM ADAMS (Class of 1827), Born, 1807; Died, 1880.

He was for forty years a leading minister and citizen of New York City, and only resigned the pastorate of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church to accept the presidency of the Union Theological Seminary, the strength and independence of which are largely the result of his work. As Dr. Bacon (q.v.) was the most representative liberal Congregationalist of his day in America, so Dr. Adams was the most representative of the progressive men in the Presbyterian Church. He was a man of broad catholicity, an active leader in the Evangelical Alliance—the precursor of modern Christian Unity movements. At the great gathering of the Alliance in New York in 1873, in welcoming the foreign delegates, he expressed these liberal sentiments, which show the largeness of his vision and of his spirit:

> We meet to express and manifest our Christian unity. Divers are the names we bear both as to countries and churches . . . . but we desire and intend to show that amid all this variety of form and circumstance there is a real unity of faith and life, believing, according to the familiar expression of our common Christian creed, "in the Holy Catholic Church" and the communion of Saints.[6]

Dr. Adams' name is borne by several Yale grandsons, among them the well-known theological writer, Rev. William Adams Brown (B.A. 1886). The brief business note accompanying the engraving was written in 1874, when he was President of Union Seminary and at the height of his influence.

SAMUEL ROBBINS BROWN (Class of 1832), Born, 1810; Died, 1880.

Dr. Brown had the distinction of founding the first Protestant school in China, in Canton. This was the beginning of the movement of education under Christian auspices in that country. In 1859 he went to Japan, where he performed yeoman's service in the translation of the Bible and in the activities

[6] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. I, p. 32.

of a broad citizenship. These gave him a position of great influence among Japanese and foreigners alike. It was due to him that the eminent Chinese reformer and educator, Yung Wing (B.A. 1854), and other men who later served their country with distinction, were induced to study in America. His linguistic interests went back to college days, his Commencement Dissertation being on "Language Signs."

The long accompanying letter gives an authoritative account of one of the most persistently misinterpreted incidents in the history of Japanese missions—the erection by missionaries of a fine residence alongside of a relatively inconspicuous chapel in Yokohama. Dr. Brown says:

> I myself am alone responsible for the erection of that house. It however did not cost the Board of Missions anything. . . . . An American . . . . offered to build a house costing $8000 upon it, to keep it insured for my benefit, & to pay $75 per month till the lease expired, at which time all the buildings he erected on the ground were to revert to the trustees. . . . . Thus the "Spacious Mansion" reverted to the trustees. . . . . The rent thus received was laid by to add to the Church building fund until it amounted to $8000, with which the spacious & substantial church now standing on the lot was erected & the "somewhat larger than a well regulated chicken-coop [the original building used as a chapel] is connected with it, as a Sunday School room." . . . . I have lived nine years in China, & twenty in Japan, & am pretty well known in both countries, & I am disposed to think, my word would be considered as good as most men's on this or any other subject on which I might make assertion.

THEODORE THORNTON MUNGER (Class of 1851), Born, 1830; Died, 1910.

Dr. Munger was the most distinguished theological writer, after Bushnell, of the liberal movement of which the latter was the leader. He was the author of *On the Threshold*, *The Freedom of Faith*, and other works of breadth of view, intellectual power, and spiritual insight. He was pastor for twenty years of the North Church, New Haven, but the congregation reached by his writings included earnest seekers after truth throughout the English-speaking world. There is a memorial to Dr. Munger, with bas-relief, near the north entrance to Woolsey Hall.

The recently published biography by Professor B. W. Bacon (B.A. 1881), the eminent New Testament scholar, entitled *Theodore Thornton Munger, New England Minister*, contains an interesting account of his college life. He did not like the classroom drill in classics and mathematics and was not a high scholar, but he gained much from wide reading (especially in Shakespeare), from association with a few choice spirits such as Andrew D. White, Elisha

Mulford, and John W. Noble, and from the debates in Linonia. "We are all too grateful for what the dear old College did for us, to find fault with what she did not do."

The autograph is a note to the editor, forwarding a letter of his friend Elisha Mulford (q.v.) and referring to him as "a man so great and every way eminent."

ELISHA MULFORD (Class of 1855), Born, 1833; Died, 1885.

Dr. Mulford's fame is not equal to his deserts. He was an Episcopal clergyman whose books, *The Republic of God* and *The Nation*, written in the period after the Civil War, and clearly showing the influence of that struggle, are among the important theological writings produced in America. He had a reputation as a profound thinker among many of his contemporaries of the greatest breadth of view and spiritual culture.

The Class Record contains this interesting account of Mulford as an undergraduate:

> Thus he impressed his class-mates, scholarly in appearance and tastes, so indifferent to his surroundings as to surprise us, and make him seem out of place in them; so earnest and studious in his habits, as at once to take a high position as a scholar and writer in the class, and indeed in the college; so indifferent to the curriculum and the college rules as to be, on the tutors books, well down in the lower half of the class, his general literary culture was then making him an authority; and, throughout the college course he neither attained to, nor cared for, any distinction on the teachers' marking books, but delighted in the appreciation and honor he gained in the college-world as a writer and conversationalist.
>
> He was especially alive to the romance of college life. A strong partisan of his society, his class, his college, he entered with avidity and unfailing interest into the societies, college-politics, and all the intellectual contests connected with them. . . . . His pen was ever ready to maintain his views, and his familiar conversations, when he was wont almost to lecture, were eagerly listened to and were welcomed as almost authority on the side he espoused. He joined in the social part of college life with the greatest zest, was warmly welcomed by all, and although not, perhaps, at all jovial, he appreciated and largely contributed to all the fun.[7]

He was chairman of the Board of Editors of the *Yale Literary Magazine.*

The letter is an important one to Dr. Munger (q.v.), with specially interesting quotations from the great English theologian, Frederick Denison Maurice, speaking in high terms of *The Nation.*

In this connection, Dr. Munger's estimate of the work is worth quoting. He said: "If there are intelligent critics and students of history in the coming

[7] *The Class of 1855 of Yale College. Report and Historical Record,* 1889, pp. 114, 115.

centuries they will not fail to acknowledge that the profoundest conception of the nature of the Nation, and the first unfolding of it as a moral organism in this country was the work of Mulford as he watched the struggles of the country in its great conflict."[8]

The friendship between Mulford and Munger was particularly intimate. Each would have insisted, and with some justice, that the other deserved a major biography in this volume.

[8] Bacon, *Theodore Thornton Munger*, p. 139.

CHAPTER II

AUTHORS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE

Yale's contribution to literature has been relatively small. This is perhaps due to the same causes that have led the University to be more identified in the public mind with force than with form. Or, to put it in another way, we may say with some truth that our Alma Mater has been more conspicuous for *fortiter in re* than for *suaviter in modo*. As far back as 1768, President Stiles referred to English composition as a thing in which "we Yalensians do not pretend to excel,"[1] and somewhat more than two generations later, the "Lit." had this criticism: "In stout, manly intellect, in acute, analytic discrimination, in clear, sound judgment, in a pure, elevated taste, in energy and activity of mind, Yale has acknowledged no superior, and but one rival, in America. We are sorry we cannot say as much for purity, beauty, and classic elegance of style."[2] This has been Yale's greatest weakness, just as it has been Harvard's greatest strength. In fact, the latter's preëminence has been so conspicuous that Yale's important contributions have been overlooked or underestimated. Even so well informed a man as President Gilman, in his delightful address at the Bicentennial, could find little to say of the University's purely literary men. Although his subject was "Science and Letters," he devoted his time, in the latter field, mainly to showing Yale's indirect contributions, through her lexicographers, Webster, Worcester, and Whitney, her preachers, Edwards and Bushnell, and

[1] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, pp. 264, 265.
[2] *Yale Literary Magazine*, August, 1844, p. 387.

her educational leaders, together with an explanation of her weakness in men of letters. Of the ten authors no longer living who would be generally recognized as the foremost Americans in the field of creative literature, three, Emerson, Lowell, and Holmes, were students at Harvard; two, Longfellow and Hawthorne, at Bowdoin; and one each at Yale (Cooper), Williams (Bryant), and the University of Virginia (Poe). Irving and Whittier were not college men.[3] In two of these, besides Cooper, Yale takes a special interest—Holmes, whose father, Abiel Holmes (q.v.), was a graduate, and would probably have sent his son to his own Alma Mater had it not been for his pastorate in Cambridge, and Bryant, who left Williams after only two years, to study at New Haven, but was unable, owing to the expense, to carry out his intentions. Bowdoin's place in names of the first rank is striking, while in those of secondary importance Yale is well represented with John Trumbull, Joel Barlow, N. P. Willis, Donald G. Mitchell, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Edward Rowland Sill, Theodore Winthrop,[4] and several others. Professor Beers, than whom no one has made a more careful study of the history of American literature, has said that Harvard's remarkable and unmistakable literary leadership is largely responsible for the overlooking of Yale's contributions, and that the latter exceed those of any other American university, her friendly rival in Cambridge alone excepted.

The most distinguished literary circle that has existed in America was that in and about Boston in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In this Harvard was dominant, Yale unrepresented. But leaving out this period—the golden one in our literature—there has been no time when Yale has not been close to her sister university—and at one time she was almost as conspicuous as Harvard was later. This was in the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the "Hartford Wits," whose leading representatives were all Yale men, were doing their best work. A remarkable fact about them was their

[3] Walt Whitman, whom some critics would place in the forefront of America's literary men, was not a college graduate. Thoreau graduated from Harvard.

[4] See his sketch, under Patriots.

versatility. Dwight was almost equally conspicuous in education, theology, and literature, Barlow is known not only as an author but as a diplomat and a political philosopher, Trumbull was both a poet and a respected judge, while it is hard to know whether to class David Humphreys in this work under Patriots or Authors. They were all intellectual cosmopolitans, and as a group showed distinction in thought, expression, and action.[5] A Harvard professor, Barrett Wendell, says "that the highest literary activity of the later eighteenth century in America had its origin at Yale College" and adds "at the time the Hartford Wits wrote, no Harvard man had produced literature half so good as theirs."[6] It seems appropriate in this connection that the standard book on the subject of the *Literary History of the American Revolution* should have been written by a Yale graduate, Moses Coit Tyler (q.v), and a most delightful volume it is. So Yale was the home of the Muses in the time of the Revolutionary War as Harvard was at the time of the Civil War, although the two universities took an equally creditable patriotic part in both contests.

A small department of belles-lettres where Yale has made a notable contribution is hymnology. It would be hard to find a more representative selection of American hymns than Timothy Dwight's "I love thy Kingdom, Lord, the house of thine abode," Bacon's "O God, beneath thy guiding Hand," George Duffield's "Stand up, stand up for Jesus," William Croswell's "Lord, lead the way the Saviour went," and Ray Palmer's "My faith looks up to Thee"—to mention only conspicuous examples of each author.[7] The songs of Timothy Dwight (q.v.) at the time of the Revolution, and of Francis Miles Finch (q.v.) during the Civil War, did much to encourage the highest patriotism. According to Professor Bliss Perry the latter's *The Blue and the Gray* is the most widely known poem ever

[5] Four of the "Hartford Wits" united in writing a poem called the *Anarchiad*. These were Humphreys, Barlow, Trumbull, and Lemuel Hopkins. The last named was not a college man. A later Hartford poet of promise was John G. C. Brainard (B.A. 1814). He died young.

[6] Wendell, *A Literary History of America*, pp. 120 and 129.

[7] N. P. Willis, and his brother, Richard Storrs Willis (B.A. 1841), were also well known in their day for their sacred hymns. Duffield was graduated in 1837, Croswell in 1822. Sketches of the others appear in this volume.

written by a graduate of Yale.[8] It is also worth recording that the University has had almost as much of a monopoly in the editing of American anthologies[9] as in the preparation of English dictionaries.[10]

A study made by the author as an undergraduate, and published in the *Yale Literary Magazine,* showed that Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography* (1888) gave sketches of the lives of one hundred and sixty-three Harvard authors, and of only seventy-seven Yale men in the same field.[11] In spite of the fact that figures and letters have little in common, this gives an objective basis for the conviction that the love of English authors has not been sufficiently cultivated at Yale until very recent times.

Towards the end of President Day's administration—in 1836—a movement among the undergraduates resulted in the establishment of the *Yale Literary Magazine,* which for three-quarters of a century has been creditably edited, and has the longest continuous history of any American student publication. Another encouraging sign has been the realization of Yale's weakness in this branch of study, and the attempt to overcome it through more adequate teaching. In 1870 the only regular instruction in the English language and literature given in the College was by Professor Cyrus Northrop (B.A. 1857), afterwards well known as President of the University of Minnesota, and his work was mainly in rhetoric. In 1885 the teaching was entirely carried on by two professors—both fortunately eminent—Lounsbury and Beers, and one tutor,[12] while in 1910—twenty-five years later—the English Faculty of professorial grade numbered fifteen, with about half as many additional instructors. There is much talk of the increased attention given to the sciences at Yale in recent years. It is true, but it is no more striking than the

[8] Book review of Lounsbury, *Yale Book of American Verse, Yale Review,* April, 1913.
[9] See under Stedman.
[10] See under Noah Webster and Worcester.
[11] *Yale Literary Magazine,* Vol. LIX, p. 302.
[12] Yale men of the late eighties and early nineties remember with gratitude the inspiring instruction of Edward Tompkins McLaughlin (B.A. 1883). He was appointed tutor in English in 1884 and advanced to an assistant professorship in 1890, and to a professorship the year of his death—1893. He wrote *Studies in Mediæval Life and Literature,* etc.

strengthening of the department of belles-lettres, especially in the mother tongue. The recent acquisition by the University of important collections of Elizabethan literature, Belletristic Americana and Gœthiana, the establishment of the Yale University Press and of the new Yale Review, and the awakening of student interest in literary and dramatic art, are also good omens.

What Yale's forte in the future is to be cannot be foreseen, but in the past it has not been in pure literature, but rather in such fields as religion, education, and public service—the things foremost in the minds of the founders—and in modern science, about which they had not dreamed. But an institution need not be ashamed of its literary achievements when these have been exceeded by only one American university.[18]

[18] Professor Beers has made out the following statistics showing the number of Academic graduates and non-graduates of American colleges represented in Stedman's standard *American Anthology:* Harvard, 47; Yale, 34; Columbia, 14; Princeton, 9; Dartmouth and Bowdoin, each 5; Brown and Virginia, each 4; Amherst and Williams, each 3. *Yale Alumni Weekly,* Vol. XVIII, p. 879.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

John Trumbull

Class of 1767

Born, April 13, 1750; Died, May 10 or 13, 1831

Poet and Satirist

Yale biography contains no more attractive figure than that of the versatile author of *McFingal.* He was born in what is now Watertown, Connecticut. His father was a clergyman and a Yale graduate (B.A. 1735), a member of one of the representative families of Colonial times. The son was a delicate child, but there is not in the history of men of genius a more remarkable case of infant precocity. Before reaching his second birthday he could repeat from memory Watts' *Divine Songs for Children* and the verses in the *Primer.* He learned to read in the course of his third year, and before he was four years old had read the Bible from cover to cover. He passed his examinations for admission to college at seven years and five months,[1] but postponed entrance for six years. The child, while examined by the tutors, was seated in the lap of his future classmate, Nathaniel Emmons (q.v),[2] who was five years his senior. The intellectual test which he successfully met was thus defined by statute in 1759:

> Admissionem in hoc Collegium Nemo expectet, nisi qui e Præsidis et Tutorum Examine, Tullium, Virgilium et Testamentum Græcum extempore legere, ad Unguem redere, ac grammatice resolvere, et Prosa veram Latinitatem scribere potuerit; et Prosodiæ ac Arithmetices vulgaris Regulas perdidicerit: atque Testimonium idoneum de Vita ac Moribus inculpatis exhibuerit.[3]

[1] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. III, p. 251.

[2] Authority of Professor Park. Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 309.

[3] Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 190. The history of entrance examinations would form an interesting study. The *Collegii Yalensis Statuta* of 1764 has the same requirements as given above. These are continued in the various editions of *The Laws of Yale-College* until the issue of 1811, when Cicero's *Select Orations* are also found. Sallust and Græca Minora increased the requirements in 1817, and Geography and English Grammar in 1825.

It is believed that Trumbull's success in passing this examination before reaching his eighth birthday is unparalleled among comparable achievements of children. The nearest approach to it which the writer has found is that of the distinguished German jurist and Dante scholar, Karl Witte, who was admitted to the University of Leipsic at nine and a half.[4] It is interesting to note that shortly after Trumbull's admission, Stiles records his examination of Lucinda Foot, aged twelve, to whom he gave a certificate that she was qualified for admission to college "nisi Sexûs ratione."[5]

The facts regarding Trumbull are extraordinary and occasion some incredulity, but they are based on incontestable evidence. The triumph of the lad was well known at the time and referred to in the public prints.[6]

The years of waiting before entering college were fortunately spent in reading the classics and English literature—the best training for a man of letters. A competent historian and literary critic has given us a picture of his progress at this time that merits attention. At the age of eight

the boy read for the first time *Paradise Lost,* Thomson's *Seasons,* an English version of *Telemachus,* and, above all, the *Spectator;* and upon this not ill-assorted stock of modern literature, he continued to nourish his spirit until he went to college. Before he reached the age of nine, he had put into English verse one half of *The Psalms of David;* but in the midst of this labor, he happened to fall in with Watts' version, whereupon, in despair he "laid aside and burnt his own." Moreover, he had a memory so quick and tenacious that, even as a child, he was sometimes induced to test its powers by feats performed for a wager. Thus, when nine years old, he attempted under such stimulus to commit to memory in a quarter of an hour the Hungarian version of the Lord's Prayer, as given in Salmon's *Geographical and Historical Grammar.* He more than won the bet; for, after learning the Lord's Prayer in the Hungarian language, he had time enough left over to learn it in Malabar also; and both versions he retained in memory as late as twenty-nine years afterward, when he repeated one of them to President Stiles.

[4] See article by Bruce in *Outlook,* January 27, 1912; also comments in issue of February 24, 1912, p. 473.

[5] See Stiles, *Diary,* Vol. III, p. 103, where the certificate is given in full, showing the subjects of examination. For cases of infant prodigies in the early history of the College, see Professor Dexter's footnote, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 447. Compare also Professor Olmsted's *Life and Writings of Ebenezer Porter Mason* (q.v.).

[6] *Connecticut Gazette,* September 24, 1757, quoted by J. Hammond Trumbull in *The Origin of McFingal,* p. 6, note.

The conditions of college life at the time are well shown in a broadside letter which was issued by the Corporation in 1760, to be sent to parents of students. This was used for the same purpose for the years immediately following, so that, in all probability, young Trumbull had carefully perused it. As the author has not seen it reproduced it is here given in full:

To the Parents, and Guardians of the Students of Yale-College,

That you might be able to judge of the unnecessary Expences of College, you have here an Account of the necessary Ones, viz.

For Tuition, ...	£0	8	8	Lawful Money per Quarter.
For Study Rent in the Old-College .	0	1	0	
In the New-College	0	1	6	
For various contingent Charges . .	0	1	4	
For Cellar Rent, to each One having a Cellar	0	0	10	

They must also pay the several Sums they are fined for Absence from Prayers, and Recitations, and for other Misdemeanours, and for the Glass they break, and for the other Damages they do to the College; and for Commons, which has generally been about Four Shillings per Week.

And whereas there has been too much of a Disposition in Scholars, with the Connivance of their Parents, to be absent from College, in Order to save Money; the Law is, that if any Scholar shall be absent from College, unless upon the Account of Sickness, or some such extraordinary Occasion, he shall be fined Five-pence per Day, L.M. and if he shall not come or send a sufficient Excuse, before the End of the Quarter, and the Fine be entered in the Quarter-Bill, it shall not for any Reason be taken off, unless it exceed Ten Shillings. And if Any shall be absent six Months, in two Years, (exclusive of Vacations) unless for some Chronical Disease, (certified by a Physician) he shall recite three Months in a lower Class; and if he shall be absent, as much as one Year, in Four, he shall be dismist, or put back into the next Class. And if any Parent shall for any extraordinary Reason, send a Horse for his Son, he must also send a Letter to the President, signifying the Reason why he desires his Son may have Liberty to go Home, and for how long a Time. And whereas there has been a general Disposition in Scholars to go Home some Days, or Weeks, before the Spring Vacation, which occasions many, and great Difficulties, too many to be here recited; you are therefore to understand, that no Scholar can obtain Liberty to go Home, within a Month before Vacation, even tho' a Horse is sent for him, unless it be for some very great, and distressing, bodily Illness, or some such very extraordinary Occasion.

The Vacation begins after the publick Exercises are over, on the sixth Day of May, or if that be on the Lord's-Day, then on the seventh, and continues two Weeks; and in the Fall, the Vacation continues six Weeks from the Commencement.

It is also recommended to Parents, to take all proper Care, that their Children do not spend unnecessarily in Apparel, and Strong-Drink, at any Time, and especially at the Commencement.

You are also desired to send a Certificate to the President, that you have receiv'd this Letter.[7]

Trumbull was placed second on the published list of his class, because of the high social standing of his family. The Class of 1767 was the last to be arranged in this way—the growing democratic feeling making it no longer possible.

A contemporary memoir of the author printed in 1820, and probably submitted to Trumbull for approval, contained this reference to his college studies:

On commencing his collegiate life, he found little regard paid to English composition, or the acquirement of a correct style. The Greek and Latin books which formed the main subjects of study, required but a small portion of his time. By the advice of his tutor, he turned his thoughts to Algebra, Geometry, and astronomical calculations, then newly introduced and encouraged by the instructors. He chiefly pursued this course during the three first years. In his Senior year he began to resume his former attention to English literature.[8]

The poet's intimacy with Timothy Dwight (q.v.), who entered Yale when the former was a Junior, meant much to him, and ripened during their tutorship into a significant literary friendship. Trumbull learned with such ease that it did not require much exertion for him to pass as an excellent student, and he was awarded the highest honor of the time—the Berkeley Scholarship—which enabled him to return to college for a few years of postgraduate work. This meant, principally, reading in the Library, which then contained four thousand volumes[9]—a small number in comparison with later times, but a veritable treasure-house for the youthful poet, accustomed to the meager collection in his father's parsonage. He read all of the Greek and Latin classics and studied carefully the style of the best English writers. He retained through life a devotion to Horace, whose *Odes* were his special delight.

[7] MS. Corporation Memorabilia in Library.
[8] *Poetical Works of John Trumbull*, Vol. I, p. 11.
[9] Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 100.

Here are some lines written during his tutorship, reflecting in a satirical way the education of the time:

> Four years at college dozed away
> In sleep, and slothfulness and play,
> Too dull for vice, with clearest conscience,
> Charged with no fault but that of nonsense,
> And nonsense long, with serious air,
> Has wandered unmolested there,
> He passes trial, fair and free,
> And takes in form his first degree.[10]

And so the account of college life runs on for many pages, as he tells of Tom Brainless' "adventures" at Yale, where he was

> In the same round condemn'd each day,
> To study, read, recite, and pray;[11]

A good commentary on these lines is to be found in the diary of an undergraduate in 1766. Here are typical quotations showing the unfavorable conditions at the close of President Clap's administration:

Friday [March] 21.—After Dinner, went to walk as far as West Haven, where we spent our Time partly in drinking Punch. And in the Evening we Went to singing School at the blue Meeting House.

Friday, 28.—In the After Noon I, with sundry others of my Class was sent for by the President for being absent 64 Times from Prayers this Quarter, but we was none of us fined.

Thursday, [July] 3.—About 11 o'Clock ye Corporation ordered us into the Cappel where they gave liberty for all the Under Classes to go and live with what Ministers they pleased this Summer. . . . .

Thursday, [September] 9.—We got Liquer in Readiness for Commencement, And in ye Afternoon we was Examined for our Degrees.[12]

A more worthy tribute to his Alma Mater than that given above is in *The Future Glory of America,* a poem which seems to have been delivered at the close of the Oration which he presented for his Master's degree:

> O, born to glory when these times prevail,
> Great nurse of learning, fair Yalensia, hail!
> Within thy walls, beneath thy pleasing shade,
> We woo'd each Art, and won the Muse to aid.

[10] "The Progress of Dulness," *Poetical Works of John Trumbull,* Vol. II, pp. 23-24.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 15.
[12] *College Courant,* September 12, 1868. Diary of Joseph B. Wadsworth (B.A. 1766).

These scenes of bliss now closing on our view,
Borne from thy seats, we breathe a last adieu.
Long may'st thou reign, of every joy possess'd,
Blest in thy teachers, in thy pupils blest;
To distant years thy fame immortal grow,
Thy spreading light to rising ages flow;
Till Nature hear the great Archangel's call,
Till the last flames involve the sinking ball;
Then may thy sons ascend th' ethereal plains,
And join seraphic songs, where bliss eternal reigns.[13]

We should have preferred to omit the last four lines, but historical accuracy requires their inclusion!

On receiving his Master's degree he also delivered "An Essay on the Use and Advantages of the Fine Arts." This was suggestive in the emphasis laid upon "Polite Literature," which he was to do so much to encourage in America. His plea for the Fine Arts was based on high ground: "they ennoble the soul, purify the passions, and give the thoughts a better turn. They add dignity to our sentiments, delicacy and refinement to our manners. They set us above our meaner pursuits, and make us scorn those low enjoyments, which perhaps we once esteemed as the perfection of human felicity."[14] These were true words, and in 1770 they stood for something novel in New England. The term of Trumbull's tutorship (1771-1773), although noteworthy as marking the beginnings[15] of his literary career by the publication of the first part of *The Progress of Dulness,* was even more important because of this new emphasis in American education. How Trumbull would have rejoiced in the Elizabethan Club and in the Jarves Collection of Italian Masters, and in the literary opportunities of the modern curriculum! A writer at the beginning of the nineteenth century pays this tribute to him and his tutorial colleagues:

Between the years 1765 and 1772, a revolution took place in the taste of the students in Yale College. About this time, the study of Mathematics and of the

[13] *Poetical Works of John Trumbull,* Vol. II, p. 161.
[14] Tyler, *Literary History,* p. 208.
[15] He had begun to publish some essays in the *Boston Chronicle* in 1769, but these were not separately printed.

Ancient Languages, began to decline, and that of Belles Lettres to be an object of more attention than before. This revolution was chiefly produced by the Rev. Dr. Dwight, who has since held so conspicuous a place among the poets and divines of America; by Mr. John Trumbull, who also stands in the first rank of our native poets; by the Rev. Mr. Howe, afterwards a respectable clergyman, and by some others, their contemporaries. These gentlemen, being instructors in the College at this time; and having imbibed a more predominant taste for polite literature than had been common among their predecessors; encouraged among the students, both by precept and example, a new degree of attention to the best writers in their own language, and to the graces of composition.[16]

A commentary on this awakening of literary interest is the fact that a decade later the Seniors were formally discussing the question whether the passion for literature is too great in the United States and particularly in New England![17] Trumbull wrote some verses[18] at this time, and many essays. The latter appeared in Boston and New Haven prints. Deriving their inspiration from the *Spectator*, they reflect the "urbanity, perspective, moderation of emphasis, [and] satire"[19] which had with him their beginnings in American literature.

During the last year of his tutorship he began the study of law, continued later in Boston in the office of John Adams. The future President's estimate of his ability is shown by his recommending young Trumbull to President Stiles, only a few years later, "as qualified for a Professorship in Law."[20] His love of American liberty was stimulated by his Boston experience, and he returned to New Haven an ardent patriot. He practiced law and served as Treasurer of the College, but here and later in Hartford, as one of the "Connecticut Wits," he devoted much of his time and literary talents to the popular cause. Hartford then had a literary circle such as had never before been seen in America.[21] All of its leading members, except Dwight,

[16] Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the 18th Century*, Vol. II, pp. 375-376.
[17] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, p. 214.
[18] Of these the *Ode to Sleep*, beginning

Come, gentle Sleep!
Balm of my wounds and softner of my woes,
And lull my weary heart in sweet repose

has been called the nearest approach to genuine poetry, except for Freneau's verse, up to that time in America. Tyler, *Literary History*, p. 210.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[20] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 238.
[21] Cf. Professor Barrett Wendell's statement quoted in Introduction to this chapter.

are brought together in this letter from Trumbull to Secretary Oliver Wolcott (q.v.). It is of special Yale interest, as of the six distinguished men introduced, including the correspondent, all, except Dr. Hopkins, were graduates:

Hartford, Dec. 9th, 1789.

I received yours by Dr. Cogswell, who appears a sensible, agreeable young man, and I am glad that he proposes to settle in Hartford. Indeed our circle of friends wants new recruits. Humphreys, Barlow and you are lost to us. Dr. Hopkins has an itch of running away to New York, but I trust his indolence will prevent him. However, if you should catch him in your city I desire you to take him up and return him, or scare him so that we may have him again, for which you shall have sixpence reward and all charges. Webster has returned and brought with him a very pretty wife. I wish him success, but I doubt in the present decay of business in our profession, whether his profits will enable him to keep up the style he sets out with. I fear he will breakfast upon Institutes, dine upon Dissertations, and go to bed supperless. I cannot conceive what Barlow is doing. After being eighteen months abroad, you tell me he has got so far *as to see favourable prospects*. If he should not effect something soon, I would advise him to write "the Vision of Barlow," as a sequel to those of Columbus and McFingal.[22]

But Trumbull's claim to permanent recognition is not mainly because he was one of the "Hartford Wits." It is rather because he used his literary gift in the sacred cause of National Independence. *McFingal* was the first and perhaps the greatest result. It embodied the spirit of America at the outset of its struggle for freedom.

That "M'Fingal" is, in its own sphere, a masterpiece, that it has within itself a sort of power never attaching to a mere imitation, is shown by the vast and prolonged impression it has made upon the American people. Immediately upon its first publication it perfectly seized and held the attention of the public. It was everywhere read. "Its popularity was unexampled." It became "the property of newsmongers, hawkers, peddlers, and petty chapmen." Probably as many as forty editions of it have been issued in this country and in England. It was one of the forces which drove forward that enormous movement of human thought and passion which we describe as the American Revolution; and in each of the great agitations of American thought and passion which have occurred since that time, occasioned by the French Revolution, by the war of 1812, and by the war which extinguished American slavery, this scorching satire against social reaction, this jeering burlesque on political obstructiveness, has been reëdited, has been republished, has been sent

[22] *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, p. 25.

forth again and again into the world, to renew its mirthful and scornful activity in the ever-renewing battle for human progress.[23]

This is the estimate of the recognized modern authority on the literary history of the American Revolution, while the opinion of Trumbull's contemporaries is shown by President John Adams' statement that *McFingal* "will live as long as Hudibras,"[24] to which President Dwight thought it superior. The latter quotes the poem to counteract the claim of an English reviewer that America had produced no poetry of distinction![25]

Barlow, in his *Vision of Columbus,* gives the opinion of the poet that was commonly held in the Revolutionary era:

> See Trumbull lead the train. His skillful hand
> Hurls the keen darts of Satire thro' the land;
> Pride, knavery, dullness, feel his mortal stings,
> And listening virtue triumphs while he sings;
> Proud Albion's sons, victorious now no more,
> In guilt retiring from the wasted shore,
> Strive their curst cruelties to hide in vain—
> The world shall learn them from his deathless strain.[26]

Trumbull held many public offices in Connecticut, including membership in the Supreme Court for over ten years. He was much respected, and had a rare charm of personality, which was reflected both in his manners and his conversation. He lived to be over eighty years of age, and never showed any of the idiosyncrasies which might have been expected from his precocious youth. A few years before his death he was visited by William M. Holland, who has preserved in a letter in the author's possession the following description of him:

> Judge Trumbull is a short man, well formed, with a slight expression of severity in his countenance. His face is thin; and his hair, white, short, & brushed back. There is a peculiar character about his mouth, the upper lip short & strait—the under, shutting up over it so as to give rather a positive expression to his countenance. His eye is keen & quick & rather restless. He wears small clothes & his dress & deportment are very free from affectation. His manners are slightly tinged

[23] Tyler, *Literary History,* p. 449.
[24] *Historical Magazine,* 1860, p. 195. Quoted by Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors,* Vol. III, p. 246.
[25] Dwight, *Travels,* Vol. IV, p. 319.
[26] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus,* Book VII, p. 211.

with the formality of the aera of our revolution. He is very sociable—his voice silvery & melodious; he takes the lead in conversation, & is rather inclined to be sarcastic on matters & things as they now are: "Laudator temporis acti."[27]

The only memorial to him at Yale is a miniature in the School of the Fine Arts, painted by the artist John Trumbull, the son of his first cousin. Yale conferred upon him her highest academic honor—the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was always deeply devoted to his Alma Mater, and when a member of the legislature, in 1792, was influential in advancing the interests of the College in many ways. An acquaintance, visiting him in his old age (1825), wrote that the poet's "whole heart is in Yale College."

His autobiography prefixed to *The Poetical Works of John Trumbull, LL.D.,* is valuable, while Professor Tyler's brief account of his life and work in his *Literary History of the American Revolution* is masterly.

Waterbury January 28th 1780.

Sir

I cannot forbear embracing the earliest Opportunity of answering your very polite favor of the 22^{d}. inst., were it only to convince You how much I esteem myself honored by your good opinion & Correspondence.

I had not the pleasure of seeing Col. Wadsworth on his return—on which account I feel myself much disappointed. I am truly sorry for his resignation, of which I fear by this time You all feel the disadvantage. I believe our Great Men carry their dependance upon Providence so far, that they expect it to work miracles in our favor, & fear lest the use of human means, besure [sic] such as are in any way calculated to procure the desired events, might be looked on as an Insult & Affront to it—So having starved the Commissary's department You are now to be supported upon Manna & Quails, as the Israelites were. Nay I am not certain, whether they think we pray for success with the right sort of faith, so long as we keep up any Army on foot. One of our first rate Connecticut Politicians, whom you have often heard of, asserts that we have no need of an Army, & that he had rather depend on the Militia *under God,* than a Continental Army *under Genl. Washington*—& talks at that rate as though he was sure the first mentioned Commander would accept the Commission.

[27] MS. Diary of William M. Holland.

And in the last six months consultation on the subject of our finances has hatched another Regulating Act! Is this all? Have they procured a foreign loan to any considerable amount, or are we only amused with such pretences? This only would save our Credit; It is at its last gasp, & will bear with Opiates no longer.—When I mentioned their reliance solely on Providence, I ought to have excepted their faith in Regulating Acts.—

How do the Congress expect to be furnished with money—In this State one half of the Taxes imposed last Year to satisfy their requisitions have been expended in paying the private debts of Government, that is, have been collected in our Notes & Orders on the State Treasury. Of the last Requisition we have voted about an eighth part & sent to Congress to abate, I know not how much of the rest. Our General Assembly are now sitting—what wise things they will do Heaven knows—at least if they are to do any. I presume however they will vote such a tax, as amounts to what Congress finally demand. But in the mean time I suppose the money is wanted immediately, & cannot be collected to any Amount in three months—Besides the Congress tell us they calculated their expenses at 20 for one discount & that is not now more than half the Depreciation.

Have they done better in other States?—

But a fig for Politics—a Subject on which a man may fret himself to death to no manner of purpose.

I sate down to answer your letter, but find myself much at a loss to make any proper return to the Compliments, you were pleased to put in it. I have been reading over sundry Dedications to find the Style in which we Scribblers used to address ourselves to the Generals & other Great Folks of antiquity—& if I could have met with any good thing to have said in your praise, which would not have had a word of truth in it, I should certainly have put it down by way of Retaliation. But as the matter stands I am wholly at a loss—

For myself I will make an apology for my letters. Immersed as I am at present in Waterbury, & snow-drifts, out of the way either of news or company, with my head half unsettled from poring over Coke's Reports & Justinians Institutes, I insist on an absolute right of writing letters, that shall be neither wise, entertaining, or anything to the purpose. And I desire this claim may in all future instances be remembered in my favor.

However Sir of this you may be as[sured that no one][28] can more highly prize the offer of [——] or the smallest share in your Friendship than does

Your most ob[edient Servant]

Major Genl. Greene

Jno. Trumbull.

[28] A small section of the sheet containing some words in the last paragraph has been torn out.

Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene, to whom this letter was written, was one of the most distinguished officers in the Revolution. He had an indirect connection with Yale through President Stiles, who gave him advice about his education for which he was always grateful. The letter is an admirable specimen of Trumbull's style—with its lightness of touch and its strong undercurrent of satire. The Colonel Wadsworth referred to was a Yale graduate, Class of 1748. He was Major-General of the Connecticut Militia. Judge Trumbull does not overstate the facts regarding the bad financial conditions of the country at this time. In the previous week President Stiles records in his *Diary* that the College Steward could not secure money to pay for provisions, and states that "Currency . . . . is now 40 or 50 for 1."[29]

[29] Stiles, *Diary* for January 20, 1780.

Joel Barlow

Class of 1778

Born, March 24, 1754; Died, December 24, 1812

Man of Letters and Political Philosopher

Barlow was one of the most representative men of letters of the Revolutionary period. His father was a respectable farmer in Redding, Connecticut. As usual in old New England days, it was the local parson[1] who gave the boy his first yearning to secure a college education. He entered Dartmouth, but its opportunities were then so limited that he moved early in the course to Yale, and became a loyal son of the institution, which was then, to quote his own words, "great without pomp."[2] These were stirring times in the College. The war for independence was an absorbing topic of interest and attention. Barlow, whose four brothers were in the army, left college as a volunteer for a few weeks and took part in the battle of White Plains. Somewhat earlier he had written home: "The students are sensibly affected with the unhappy situation of public affairs, which is a great hinderance to their studies, and for that reason there has been talk of dismissing college; but whether they will is uncertain."[3] The expected dismissal from New Haven took place about the middle of his Junior year, and lasted for over twelve months.[4] Barlow's division went to Glastonbury, in charge of Professor Strong and Rev. Joseph Buckminster (B.A. 1770), a tutor, afterwards distinguished as a divine, whose love of literature was greatly appreciated by Barlow, with whom he carried on a correspondence for many years. The distribution of the students to several different centers was mainly due to the scarcity of provisions. It was the occasion of Barlow's writing a parody on Chronicles, dated January 16, 1777,

[1] Rev. Nathaniel Bartlett (B.A. 1749).
[2] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus*, p. 103.
[3] Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, pp. 4-5.
[4] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 642.

in which President Naphtali Daggett and the College conditions are referred to in a clever way:

1. And it came to pass on the third day of the tenth month, that there went forth a decree from Naphtali the son of Zebulon, that all the captives throughout his dominions should depart for a little season, into the land of their nativity, to buy themselves some bread.

2. For it was so, that in the days of Naphtali, there was no bread in all that country round about, insomuch that there was a famine throughout all the land of Naphtali.

3. Now Naphtali was a great man and eat much bread, insomuch that the famine was very sore.

4. Moreover there were beans in great abundance in that land; so that Naphtali said, peradventure my captives that are in this land, will eat the beans thereof.

5. Howbeit, the captives were not accustomed to eat beans in their own country; therefore they murmured against the hand of their master, saying give us some bread to eat.

6. Wherefore Naphtali assembled all the sons of his captivity, and lift up his voice in the midst of them, and said, O ye sons of my captivity, hear ye the words of Naphtali.

7. Forasmuch as the famine is sore in the land, insomuch there is hardly bread enough for me and my household:

8. Wherefore ye sons of the captivity of Naphtali, behold you may return to your houses in the lands of your nativity, where ye can get some bread, lest ye die.

9. Nevertheless, when ye shall hear the voice of my decree in the land of your fathers, saying unto you, return into the land of Naphtali,

10. Then it shall come to pass, that ye shall return and sojourn again in the land of captivity.

11. Thus was it done according to all the words of Naphtali.[5]

Tutor Dwight (q.v.), who had just begun[6] his instruction in rhetoric, history, and belles-lettres, was probably the teacher from whom he derived the most benefit. A friendship was formed with him which lasted through life. When Dwight went abroad a few years later Barlow addressed to him a poem containing these lines:

To thee, my early friend! to thee, dear Dwight!
Fond recollection turns, while thus I write;
While I reflect, no change of time or place,
The impressions of our friendship can efface.[7]

[5] *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1836, pp. 24, 25.
[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 641.
[7] "An Epistle to Dr. Dwight," *American Poems*, Litchfield, 1793, Vol. I, p. 129.

An entry in Stiles' *Diary* enables us to reproduce Barlow's academical studies:

> Freshman year: "Virgilius, Ciceronis Orationes, Greek Test[a], Wards Arithmetic"
> "Sophimore" year: "Græcum Test., Horatius, Lowths Eng. Grammar, Watts' Logic, Guthrie's Geography, Hammonds Algebra, Holmes Rhetorick, Wards Geometry, Vincent's Catechism Saturdays, Wards Math."
> Junior year: "Wards Trigonometry, Atkinson & Wilson D[o], Græc. Test[a], Cic. de Oratore, Martin's Phil. Grammar & Philosophy 3 vol. Vincent Saturdays."
> Senior Year: "Locke Human Understand[g], Wollaston's Rel. Nat. delineated, & for Saturdays Wollebius, Amesij Medulla, Græc. Test. (or Edwds on the Will sometime discontinued). Presid[t] Claps Ethics."[8]

It is clearly open to debate whether this curriculum is not better balanced for the average man than that which he would have been apt to elect a century and a quarter later. It showed the liberalizing and humanitarian tendencies of Dwight, Trumbull, and other men of literary interests who had recently served in the tutorship. Barlow's biographer tells us that next to the revised curriculum the main interests of his undergraduate days seem to have been "a deep devotion to the Muses, and a fitting appreciation of the charms of the lovely young women whose beauty illumined the somewhat sombre atmosphere of the little university town." Like many another undergraduate, he combined the two through the writing of verses showing his devotion to the fair sex.[9] A more serious effort was the Commencement Poem on *The Prospect of Peace*. This was delivered in the Chapel before the officers and guests of the College as part of the following program:

> A Cliosophic Oration in Latin, by Sir Meigs.
> A Poetical Composition in English, by Sir Barlow.
> A Dialogue in English, by Sir Chaplin, Sir Ely, and Sir Miller.
> A Cliosophic Oration in English, by Sir Webster.
> A Disputation in English, by Sir Swift, Sir Wolcott, and Sir Smith.
> A Valedictory Oration in English, by Sir Tracy.
> An Anthem.[10]

[8] Stiles, *Diary* for November 9, 1779, Vol. II, pp. 387-388.
[9] He married one of these "lovely young women," the sister of his tutor, Abraham Baldwin (q.v.).
[10] Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, pp. 6 and 7. Students were called Sir after passing the final examination of Senior year.

President Stiles, who apparently attended all functions watch in hand, records, in his characteristic fashion, that Barlow's poem lasted from "III. 59" to "IV. 11." It would be well if the class poets today were always equally brief.

It is doubtful whether any undergraduate Commencement occasion in America has brought together on a single short program a larger number of men destined to distinction. This is more noticeable as the class included only forty members. Sir Meigs became President of the University of Georgia; Sir Barlow, Minister to France; Sir Miller, Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; Sir Webster (q.v.), the great lexicographer; Sir Swift (q.v.), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut; Sir Wolcott (q.v.), Secretary of the Treasury; Sir Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont; Sir Tracy, United States Senator. It should also be added that the public examination and Commencement exercises were conducted with dignity and impressiveness. Both Presidents Clap and Stiles were believers in academic ceremony. The latter's *Literary Diary* is full of it.

Before dismissing the undergraduate Barlow and his classmates from our thought, the following quotation from a letter regarding the entrance of his nephew upon his course at Yale must be included. The advice it contains was doubtless born of experience. It is not without value even to the present generation:

> You must have a watchful eye upon Thomas at New Haven. Though the advantages there are greater than at minor schools, yet the temptations to idleness and extravagance are greater also. But few have the courage to resist these temptations. One of the best preservatives against the vices incident to such situations is a certain *poorness of purse*—not absolute poverty, but bordering upon it. It will not be difficult to gauge him properly in this respect, then keep up his ambition. Let him never forget that he has got nothing but his own merit to depend upon—which is, and must be, the fact.[11]

Barlow's name was handed down for nearly a century in the undergraduate community as an early and prominent member of

[11] Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, p. 254.

Brothers in Unity. As late as 1855, at the "Statement of Facts"—when the glories of the different debating societies were eloquently displayed for the edification of prospective Freshman candidates—one of the orators, referring to the "illustrious Alumni of the Brothers" who "are the common heritage of the human race," said: "At the head of that glorious host stands the venerable form of Joel Barlow, who, in addition to his various civil and literary distinctions, was the Father of American Poetry."[12] The "Statement of Facts," when this delightfully extravagant speech was delivered, had become a *tour de force,* but it still served a useful purpose in keeping green in undergraduate minds the memory of Barlow, Humphreys, Dwight, and others of their contemporaries.

Barlow remained in New Haven[13] for two years, reading, studying law, and devoting his attention to Miss Ruth Baldwin. There are two contemporary letters that tell the story. The first is to his classmate, Noah Webster (q.v.), under date of January 30, 1779: "I move at present in as regular a sphere as if I was governed by Sir Isaac Newton's laws; my circuit is from new college to old, and from old to Mr. Baldwin's for study, school-keeping and eating, all which movements are regularly pointed out by my inclinations, my poverty, and my appetite."[14] The second is from David Humphreys (q.v.) to General Greene, April 10, 1780, and shows the impression which Barlow's talents were making upon his contemporaries:

> There is a hopeful genius . . . . in this town, who is so far gone in poetry, that there is no hope of reclaiming and making him attentive to anything else. To be more serious about the matter, the person intended is a young gentleman by the name of Barlow, who I could wish was introduced to your notice. He is certainly a very great genius, and has undertaken a work which, I am persuaded, will do honor to himself and his country—if he is enabled to prosecute it in the manner he has proposed. It is entitled the "Vision of Columbus" and in the course of the poem will bring into view upon a large scale all the great events that have or will take place on the continent. From a sight of the first book, which he has nearly finished, I have conceived an exceedingly high idea of the performance. But the difficulty

[12] Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs,* p. 447.
[13] He was later offered a tutorship, but declined.
[14] Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow,* p. 19.

is, it will be a labor of three years at least; and his patrimony, which consisted in continental bills, is by no means sufficient to support him.[15]

In 1781 Barlow took his Master's degree, presenting a poem, a few lines of which are worth quoting for their loyalty to "Yalensia," if not for their poetry:

Once more, thou sacred Seat, the changing year
Hath circled heaven and bid the day appear,
That opes thy portals, gilds thy spiry dome,
And calls thy children from their joyous home.

* * * * * *

Long have we liv'd beneath thy nurturing care,
And joy and friendship crown'd our labors there;
No more within those blissful haunts we dwell,
To all thy train we bid a long farewell

* * * * * *

Ye patriot worthies, whom these strains assail,
Ye Reverend Sires, and all ye Sons of Yale,
Behold our seat, by former bounty given,
Pride of our land and favorite child of heaven,
Whence liberal arts and liberal thoughts ye drew,
When few her children and her wants were few;
Now see, the narrow bounds can scarce contain
Half the throng'd numbers of her joyous train[16]

At the same time the question assigned to him was *An Americani nuperâ eorum ab imperio Britannico separatione jure naturæ et gentium Jureque divino justificati fuerint.* He supported the affirmative.

Barlow's career now took a rather unexpected turn. The manuscript records of The Church of Christ in Yale College, under date of August 6, 1780, have this entry: "Sir Barlow admitted into full communion." He was soon afterwards licensed to preach by the New Haven Association of Ministers, and appointed chaplain of a Massachusetts brigade. He was ardent as a patriot but somewhat luke-

[15] *Humphreys Family in America,* pp. 155-156, quoted from Tyler, *Three Men of Letters,* pp. 135-136.
[16] *American Poems,* Vol. I, Litchfield, 1793, pp. 94, 95, 96.

warm as a representative of religion, although he preached once a Sunday and fulfilled Humphreys' promise to General Greene that if appointed he would "perform the duty with dignity, and have leisure enough to prosecute his favorite pursuits."[17] At the close of the war he was engaged in sundry occupations, although literature always continued his main interest. He was a printer and a bookseller in Hartford, a rather unsuccessful lawyer, the agent of the unfortunate Ohio and Scioto Land Company in Europe, a candidate for election to the National Convention in France, Consul of the United States in Algiers—where he successfully aided in accomplishing the difficult task of ridding the Barbary States of piracy—and for years a prominent figure in the literary and political life of Paris and of London.

In 1805 he returned from his many years' residence abroad, a decided liberal in politics and in religion, and deeply interested in the encouragement of education and science in America, especially through the establishment of a national institution in Washington, where he made his home. The project failed, but the Columbian University was an indirect result of his efforts, while part of his purpose was later realized in the establishment of the National Academy of Sciences.[18] In 1811 he was appointed by President Madison Minister Plenipotentiary to France. It was while engaged in important diplomatic negotiations with Napoleon's Minister of Foreign Affairs in Russia that he contracted a severe illness from exposure to the cold. He died and was buried at Zarnovich in Poland.

Barlow's most popular poem was *Hasty Pudding,* his most important literary work *The Vision of Columbus,* which Professor Barrett Wendell calls "the most ambitious attempt at serious literature which had appeared in the United States."[19] His reputation as a poet among contemporaries was high, but it has waned with the

[17] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 338.
[18] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. IV, p. 6.
[19] Wendell, *A Literary History of America,* p. 127.

years. His friend Humphreys proved himself a poor prophet when he wrote:

> Fame shall assent, and future years admire[20]
> Barlow's strong flight, and Dwight's Homeric fire

However, he was a distinguished man of letters, in the best sense, and a political philosopher of no mean ability. His *Advice to the Privileged Orders in the several States of Europe* had the distinction of being translated both into French and German, and of being suppressed by the British government, although eulogized by Fox in Parliament. Some of his occasional pamphlets treating European and American politics from the standpoint of a radical Republican were widely read and discussed. He should be specially remembered for the aid he rendered Robert Fulton. The latter lived with him for many years in Paris while perfecting his steamboat, and painted the portrait of Barlow from which the well-known engraving is made.

A competent, but slightly over-enthusiastic, biographer has thus summed up his achievement:

> The great men of the post-Revolutionary age were not, as a rule, versatile. Their development was largely in one direction—statesmanship. Jefferson, it is true, shone both as a statesman and philosopher; so did Franklin: but it would be difficult to carry the parallel farther. There was one, however, among this group of worthies who excelled in at least three great departments of human effort—in statesmanship, letters, and philosophy—and whose practical talents were perhaps greater than those of any of his contemporaries. That man was Joel Barlow, the subject of these pages. His verse first gave American poetry a standing abroad. His prose writing contributed largely to the triumph of Republicanism in 1800. He was the first American cosmopolite, and twice made use of his position to avert from his country a threatened foreign war. He was the godfather of the steamboat and canal,[21] and sponsor with Jefferson of our present magnificent system of internal improvements, while had he been permitted to carry out his grand idea of a national university it is safe to say that American art, letters, science, and mechanics would now be on a much more advanced and satisfactory footing.

This quotation is taken from Todd's *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, LL.D.*, the most complete biography, although Tyler's *Three Men*

[20] *Poetical Works of John Trumbull*, Vol. II, p. 109.
[21] He even prophesied the Panama Canal in *The Vision of Columbus*.

of Letters gives the most readable and interesting account of his life. His only memorial at Yale is a replica of the bust by Houdon.

Hartford 21 March 1784

Sir

You may remember that in the year –82 Col Humphrey forwarded to you in Carolina a subscription paper for printing The Vision of Columbus, as that Poem will shortly be put to press I take the liberty of requesting of you some information of the success it met there, &, if it be worth enquiring after, in what method can I obtain it. I would likewise mention to you a proposal I made to young Mr. Ward, who told me he was a kinsman of yours, & that you feel an interest in his concerns. I proposed to him a partnership for establishing ourselves in the business of printing, bookselling & stationary in all their branches at Baltimore. That business has long been my object & perhaps there is no place in the United States that presents so good an opening as the one proposed. You are sensible it is at present in a most flourishing condition, & bids fair to improve the advantages that nature & industry have given it. There are but two printing presses in the town & those badly managed, there is no book store there, & none, as I can learn, in contemplation. I have conversed with several gentlemen of that town & in that state upon the subject; they offer me their warmest patronage & friendship & advise strongly to the object. We shall have the works of Mr. Trumbull & Mr. Dwight as well as my own to publish immediately, which may not be an unfavorable introduction of the knowledge of the press to the Public. It is certain that a newspaper may have a large run, & perhaps a magazine may be managed to advantage. It is possible that the wealthy in that country may think libraries an ornamental species of furniture, & in that case bookselling with other stationary will make a profitable branch of business. As Mr. Ward will probably be directed by you with regard to my proposal, I tho't it not amiss to trouble you with these hints upon the subject.

With every sentiment of respect & gratitude I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your ob^{t} Ser^{t}

Joel Barlow

[Addressed to Major General Greene]

David Humphreys introduced Barlow to General Greene and they became warm friends. Barlow, in a letter, speaks of the General as yielding to Washington alone in the estimation of the army. He was reputed "the second character on the continent." *The Vision*

of Columbus referred to was our author's most important literary work. It was begun as early as 1780, and was published in 1787, although its further development occupied him for the major portion of his life. Its final form did not take shape until 1807, when *The Columbiad* appeared in a magnificent edition printed from special type prepared at the expense of Robert Fulton. *The Vision of Columbus* passed through many editions, was republished in London and Paris, and, although now little read, made its author famous on two continents.

The proposed opening of a book shop in Baltimore does not seem to have taken place. Instead he remained in Hartford, where he was in the firm of Barlow & Babcock. They printed, in 1785, Barlow's well-known edition of *Doctor Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David.*

James Fenimore Cooper

Class of 1806

Born, September 15, 1789; Died, September 14, 1851

Novelist

It is a source of surprise to most people to be told that the author of the *Leatherstocking Tales* was a Yale man. All the college education he received was in New Haven, but his failure to receive a degree is responsible for the public's overlooking his university connection.

His father was a large landowner who founded Cooperstown, New York, and built the fine mansion, Otsego Hall, where the novelist spent his youth, as well as the later years of his life. He was the leading man in the community and was for two terms a member of Congress. There were two potent educational influences outside of the home—the romantic scenery of the neighborhood, still the haunt of the Indian, and Rev. Mr. Ellison, an English university graduate, rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, who gave the future novelist an excellent preparation for college, as well as some rather aristocratic views of life. "James Cooper," as his name was given in the catalogue, entered Yale at the age of thirteen—too young for the best give and take of college life. Like some others who have been unusually well fitted for the entrance examinations, he found the work of Freshman year a light task, consequently he did not do as serious studying as would have been to his advantage. It was easy for him to maintain a fair stand without it, and his undergraduate course, although not a dissipated one, showed few signs of intellectual or moral earnestness. The general character of the college world in which Cooper found himself was described by a contemporary writer in the first regular Yale student publication. He says that the undergraduate finds that "here there are no hereditary claims to superior

respect—no pretensions of wealth or parentage to combat—no grades but those which are created by merit—that here literally, 'quisque est faber, suæ fortunæ.' "[1] This shows the improved character of student life brought about under President Dwight's administration. Similarly, the following quotation from an unpublished letter of Cooper's classmate, Daniel Mulford, indicates one of the main reasons for the change—the abolition of petty penalties, and the substitution of the policy of retaining in college only those who would appreciate its privileges:

> We who are in College live in a kind of a little Monarchy, the President with his privy council (the professors & tutors) have full and absolute power to do with us what they please as far as it respects the business and behavior of College. Being however rather of a Methodistical turn in their manner of governing us they will admit almost anybody however bad into College as it were upon trial, and then if we play any tricks which they dont like, instead of inflicting any other kind of punishment, they excommunicate us, or like the Quakers, spue us out of their mouth.[2]

And yet there were still many rules and restrictions. The following regulations, adopted by the Corporation in the autumn of his Junior year, will show how galling the formal restraints of college life must have been to one of Cooper's temperament:

> Whenever the College Faculty shall be satisfied, that any student is guilty of frequent absence from prayers, public worship, or any College exercises, established by law; or of disorderly behavior when present at any of them, or in the dining hall; or of unreasonable expensiveness in living, or company keeping in his room or elsewhere; or of idleness, or profane language, or profaning the sabbath; or that he has gone out of College limits without leave; or has attended a dancing-school, or dancing assemblies; or procured or received meals, or other entertainment, in any tavern, or boarding-house; or frequented such house or houses; or that he absents himself from his room after 10 o'clock at night; or is frequently absent from his room in study hours; or has been guilty of any loose conduct, or of disrespectful behavior to any officer of this College—He shall be admonished of his misbehavior by his Instructor, or any other member of the Faculty: And, if he shall continue unreformed, his case shall be made known by his Instructor to his parent, or guardian. If he continue still unreformed, he shall be sent home; and shall never be re-admitted, except by a major vote of the Faculty.[3]

[1] *Literary Cabinet*, Vol. I, p. 113.
[2] Letter of Daniel Mulford, written in January, 1806, Yale Library.
[3] MS. Yale Corporation Records, September 13, 1804.

The influences of Yale upon young Cooper are not easily measured, but they seem to have been comparatively small. The beauty of the country around New Haven attracted him, and he indulged in long walks—a habit which modern undergraduates would do well to cultivate more generally. Long Island Sound gave him his first touch of the sea, while the rugged hills about, and the Indian associations of Quinnipiac, must have appealed to him. Professors Silliman (q.v.) and Kingsley (q.v.) were the members of the Faculty for whom he seems to have held the highest regard. The former, with whom he corresponded throughout life, was well fitted to broaden the youth's horizon, for he was a teacher of science, in the large sense of the word. Kingsley was a careful Latin scholar with so rare a gift for writing pure and incisive English that he was known by some contemporaries as the American Addison. If, as believers in the classics maintain, and literary men are generally of their number, the translation of Greek and Latin authors into idiomatic English is the best way of gaining a good style, Cooper may have been even more indebted to his Yale teacher than he realized.

Probably his most intimate college friend was William Jay (B.A. 1807), son of Chief Justice Jay, and one of the most influential of the early anti-slavery advocates. They retained a life-long friendship. Jay has preserved for us an interesting picture of the simplicity and routine of the undergraduate life of their class:

> As a mere freshman I looked up to my room-mate with great respect and treated him accordingly. We had no servants to wait on us, except that a man came every morning to make our beds and sweep the room, and once a week to scatter clean white sand on the floor. I rose early—generally before six in winter—made the fire, and then went, pitcher in hand, often wading through snow, for water for Sir Holly and myself. At that time the freshmen occupied in part the place of sizers in the English universities, and they were required to run errands for the seniors. Our meals were taken in a large hall with a kitchen opening into it. The students were arranged at tables according to their classes. All sat on wooden benches, not excepting the tutors; the latter had a table to themselves on an elevated platform whence they had a view of the whole company. But it was rather difficult for them to attend to their plates and to watch two hundred boys at the same time. Salt beef once a day and dry cod were perhaps the most usual dishes. On Sunday morn-

ings during the winter our breakfast-tables were graced with large tin milk-cans filled with stewed oysters; at the proper season we were occasionally treated at dinner with green peas. As you may suppose, a goodly number of waiters were needed in the hall. These were all students, and many of them among the best and most esteemed scholars. About half-past five in winter the bell summoned us from our beds, and at six it called us to prayers in the chapel. We next repaired to the recitation-rooms and recited by candle-light the lessons we had studied the preceding evening. At eight we had breakfast, and at nine the bell warned us to our rooms. At twelve it called us to a recitation or a lecture. After dinner we recommenced our studies and recited for the third time at four o'clock. During study hours the tutors would frequently go the rounds, looking into our rooms to see that we were not playing truant. Before supper we all attended evening prayers in the chapel.[4]

Such existence was too prosaic to satisfy Cooper. Tradition, substantiated by his undergraduate picture,[5] shows that he was an attractive youth of high spirits, who enjoyed the lighter sides of college life, and was quite willing to leave work to the more studious. The following quotation from one of his letters to Silliman, written from Paris, in 1851, gives recollections of his student days, from the point of view of a half-century later. It is of value as showing that his feelings towards his stern Alma Mater were kindly—an opinion substantiated by the fact that he sent several of his literary heroes to Yale.[6]

I could wish you to mention me to Mr. Day and Mr. Kingsley; I dare say I should say Dr. Kingsley, but of this I am in the dark. I remember the latter with affection. He did his duty, and more than his duty by me; and could I have been reclaimed to study by kindness, he would have done it. My misfortune was extreme youth. I was not sixteen when you expelled me. I had been early and highly educated for a boy,—so much so as to be far beyond most of my classmates in Latin; and this enabled me to play—a boy of thirteen!—all the first year. I dare say Mr. Kingsley never suspected me of knowing too much, but there can be no great danger now in telling him the truth. So well was I grounded in the Latin that I scarce ever looked at my Horace or Tully until I was in his fearful presence; and if he recollects, although he had a trick of trotting me about the pages in order to get me mired, he may remember that I generally came off pretty well. There is

[4] Tuckerman, *William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery*, p. 6.

[5] Reproduced in Phillips, *James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 39. An original silhouette of him as a student is in a collection of pictures of members of the Class of 1806, in the Library.

[6] Lounsbury, *Cooper*, p. 246.

one of my college adventures which tickles me, even to this day. I never studied but one regular lesson in Homer. The poor bell, or a cold, or some letter had to answer for all the others. Well, when the class reviewed, I clapped another fifty or sixty lines to the old lesson, and went to recitation. The fact was notorious that the division used to laugh when I was called up for a Homeric excuse. Examination came at length, and Mr. Stuart, between whom and myself I cannot say there were any very strong sympathies, was examining. I had calculated my distance, and by aid of the Latin translation, which I read as easily as English, I was endeavoring to find out what Homer meant in a certain paragraph that I anticipated would fall to my lot. I remember that I sweated. The examiner was not disposed to give me the benefit of my recent application, but skipped me over the whole book. I found the new place amid a general titter, and lo! it was in the very heart of my two lessons. As we sailors say, there was plenty of sea-room, and I had half a mind to ask the examiner to take his pick. As it was, I got through admirably, and I believe greatly to the astonishment of the examiner; and I know it was highly to the amusement of my own tutor, whose laughing eyes seemed to say, "This is what my boys can do without study." If I ever write my Memoir, the college part of it will not be the least amusing. On one occasion, a tutor of the name of Fowler was scraped in the hall. Now I was charged with being one of his assailants, by himself, and was arraigned before you all in conclave. You presided, and appealed to my honor to know whether I scraped or not. I told you that I did not, for I disliked the manner of assailing a man *en masse*. You believed me, for we understood each other, and I was dismissed without even a reproof. You told me you believed me, and I was not a boy to deceive any one who had that sort of confidence in me. This little court made a pleasant impression on me which I remember to this day. I hope to return next summer, and certainly I shall come and take a look at old Yale. You cannot claim me in public for the reason that Dr. Busby wore his hat before King Charles; but I hope you will not turn your backs on me in private. I can sit in the gallery at least.[7]

The reference in this letter to Dr. Busby and King Charles would seem to indicate that the gist of the trouble leading to his expulsion, was some act on Cooper's part showing a lack of respect for the authority of the College. It will be remembered that Rev. Richard Busby, D.D. (1606-1695), the noted English pedagogue and Head Master of Westminster School, refused to remove his hat when the King entered the schoolroom, being unwilling that his boys should think that their master recognized any superior. He believed that he was as much a sovereign in his school as the King was in his king-

[7] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, Vol. I, pp. 336-338. The original of this letter is in the autograph collection of Samuel R. Betts, Esq. (B.A. 1875).

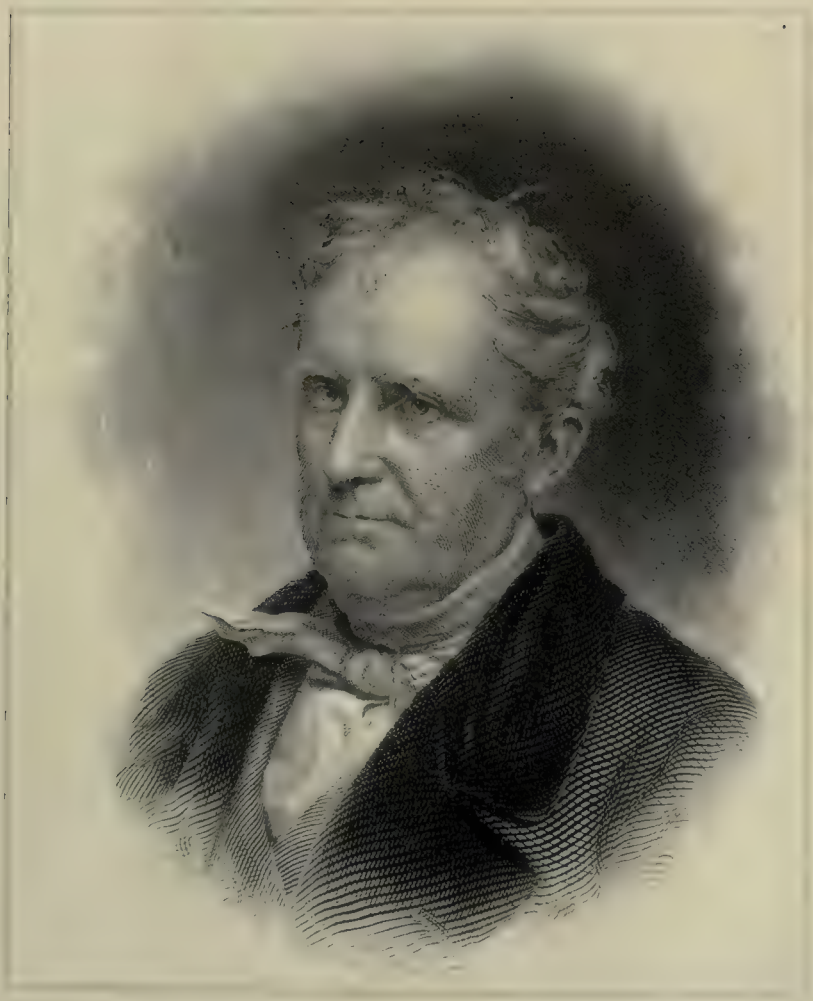
James Fenimore Cooper

Class of 1806

one of my college adventures which tickles me, even to this day. I never studied but one regular lesson in Homer. The poor bell, or a cold, or some letter had to answer for all the others. Well, when the class reviewed, I clapped another fifty or sixty lines to the old lesson, and went to recitation. The fact was notorious that the division used to laugh when I was called up for a Homeric excuse. Examination came at length, and Mr Stuart, between whom and myself I cannot say there were any very strong sympathies, was examining. I had calculated my distance, and by aid of the Latin translation which I read as easily as English, I was endeavoring to find out what Homer meant in a certain paragraph that I anticipated would fall to my lot. I remember that I sweated. The examiner was not disposed to give me the benefit of my recent application, but skipped me over the whole book. I found the new place amid a general titter, and lo! it was in the very heart of my two lessons. As we sailors say, there was plenty of sea-room, and I had half a mind to ask the examiner to take his pick. As it was, I got through admirably, and I believe greatly to the astonishment of the examiner; and I know it was highly to the amusement of my own tutor, whose laughing eyes seemed to say, "This is what my boys can do without study." If I ever write my Memoir, the college part of it will not be the least amusing. On one occasion, a tutor of the name of Fowler was scraped in the hall. Now I was charged with being one of his assailants, by himself, and was arraigned before you all in conclave. You presided, and appealed to my honor to know whether I scraped or not. I told you that I did not, for I disliked the manner of assailing a man *en masse*. You believed me, for we understood each other, and I was dismissed without even a reproof. You told me you believed me, and I was not a boy to deceive any one who had that sort of confidence in me. This little court made a pleasant impression on me which I remember to this day. I hope to return next summer, and certainly I shall come and take a look at old Yale. You cannot claim me in public for the reason that Dr. Busby wore his hat before King Charles; but I hope you will not turn your backs on me in private. I can sit in the gallery at least.[7]

The reference in this letter to Dr. Busby and King Charles would seem to indicate that the gist of the trouble leading to his expulsion was some act on Cooper's part showing a lack of respect for the authority of the College. It will be remembered that Rev. Richard Busby, D.D. (1606-1695), the noted English pedagogue and Head Master of Westminster School, refused to remove his hat when the King entered the schoolroom, being unwilling that his boys should think that their master recognized any superior. He believed that he was as much a sovereign in his school as the King was in his king-

[7] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, Vol. I, pp. 186-188. The original of this letter is in the autograph collection of Samuel R. Betts, Esq. (B.A. 1875).



dom. Cooper's spirit as an undergraduate may well have been somewhat similar.

Professor Lounsbury (B.A. 1859), Cooper's eminent biographer, tried earnestly to discover the exact reason for his leaving college, but without success. This is as definite as he could be: "A frolic in which he was engaged during his third year was attended by consequences more serious than disfavor. It led to his dismissal." The family tradition, communicated to the author by Cooper's grandson, is that he carried his love for mischief too far, and was finally expelled for an explosion, which the future novelist had set off in a friend's room by the clever use of the keyhole. The University Library owns the diary of Daniel Mulford (B.A. 1806) from 1801 to 1807. The following entries for the early summer of 1805 refer to the Cooper-Boyle incident: [May] "30th Morning came to College where I soon heard that Boyle & Cooper both Juniors have been fighting, and Boyle stands bound for his appearance at court in two sums, one $80, and the other $200." Boyle was dismissed. About a month afterwards there was a celebration of Independence Day, thus referred to by Mulford: "Celebration of the day was prohibited. About 20 of us however collected in Conner's room immediately after dinner, drank wine and sung Songs till 3, when we were dispersed by one of the tutor's (Hoadly)." It is not improbable that this event, or a similar one, was responsible for Cooper's dismissal.

In the abrupt termination of his academic career by official action, he was historically in good literary company. There is something in the routine of college life, especially with the rigid curriculum of earlier days, that often runs counter to the spirit of the Muses. The father was much disturbed over the incident, but the son returned home. Unfortunately he never carried out his intention of writing his memoirs, with a chapter on his life at Yale, and he left a special request, observed by the family, that his private papers should never be made the basis of a biography. He was prejudiced against New England, and against the form taken by its Puritan

traditions. He developed no special literary taste as an undergraduate—in fact, his discovery of latent capacity for writing came suddenly, and not until he was thirty years old. Then, in a spirit of bravado, he told his wife, a sister of Bishop DeLancey (q.v.), that he thought he could write a better novel than the one they were reading. *Precaution* was the result, and his literary career was begun.

After leaving college, Cooper took to the sea and served for three years in the American Navy. He then settled down to the life of a country gentleman near New York, but the experience with his anonymous trial novel in 1820 had stimulated his ambition. Two years later appeared *The Spy,* and in 1826, *The Last of the Mohicans.* "The success of the work," writes Professor Lounsbury, "was both instantaneous and prodigious. . . . . No other American before or since has enjoyed so wide a contemporary popularity."[8] An evidence of this is the fact that thirty-five hundred copies of *The Pioneer* were sold before noon on the day of publication in 1823.[9] It was at this time that Chancellor Kent toasted him at a banquet of literary men in New York as the "genius which has rendered our native soil classic ground, and given to our early history the enchantment of fiction."

Cooper's contemporary popularity in his home land was short-lived. His aristocratic bearing, his criticisms of much that was crude in American life, his long sojourn in Europe, his eagerness to take strong sides in every controversy, his proud sensitiveness, led, at first, to his being misunderstood, and then disliked. He became the center around which many battles raged. "Dissatisfaction with his Countrymen," "The Mile Point Controversy," "Criticisms of America and Americans," "War with the Press," "The Newspaper Libel Suits"—these are suggestive chapter headings from his biography. During the ten years ending with 1843, Cooper "explored almost every available avenue to unpopularity." The effect on his work was unfor-

[8] Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper,* p. 128.
[9] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. I, p. 728.

tunate. *The Spy, The Pioneer, The Last of the Mohicans, The Prairie,* and *The Pilot,* all came from the first seven years of his literary period. He continued to write occasionally a good novel, and completed the important *History of the Navy of the United States of America,* but most of the dozens of books written during his later years were not highly thought of by contemporaries, and are not read now. Fortunately the bitter controversies of which he was the center have been forgotten. His criticisms of his countrymen are no longer taken as insults; his patriotism is never doubted. He will always stand out as a great figure in literary history—the first American whose books were translated and read extensively abroad, and one of the most brilliant of nineteenth century novelists. His *Leatherstocking Tales* will, it is safe to say, retain a permanent place in our literature.

Professor Lounsbury, who has studied his life with greater care than anyone else, thus sums up his impression of the man:

> She [America] has had several gifted with higher spiritual insight than he, with broader and juster views of life, with finer ideals of literary art, and, above all, with far greater delicacy of taste. But she counts on the scanty roll of her men of letters the name of no one who acted from purer patriotism or loftier principle. She finds among them all no manlier nature, and no more heroic soul.[10]

The Class of 1879, at its thirtieth anniversary, presented to the University the original portrait of Cooper, by John Neagle. The Lounsbury biography and William Cullen Bryant's *Memorial Discourse* give the most adequate estimates of his life and work.

My dear Sir,

An utter stranger has desired that I would forward the accompanying packet. I hope it may prove to be of more importance than I confess I am, just now, induced to think it.

There is, as you probably know, a vast deal of empyricism mixed up with the real science and passable literature of France. It is not always easy for a stranger to extricate himself gracefully from the assaults of the pretenders,

[10] Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper,* pp. 288, 289.

who appear to think it is enough to be French of a *soi disant* homme d'lettres, to trouble one with their acquaintance.

It is certainly a disadvantage to us, that we are considered as a sort of beginner in every thing which these people call civilizée, and that we, in consequence, get little credit for anything we do. They look only at the past, and have not the smallest idea of the changes. Nor is that all—they are far from being willing to learn. All the knowledge they do get of us, is *forced* upon them. I will give you one or two specimens of the accuracy of their travellers in relation to visible, and what is better, tangible things.

A Frenchman who resided three years in New Jersey stoutly affirmed to me that carpets were but little used in the U. States fourteen years ago! Another who passed two years at New-York, affirms that *peaches* are not known among us! A third and he a fellow traveller of LaFayette and a well-wisher to the country says there are no *cherries!* Now, I, after a residence of ten months at Paris affirm, that the two latter fruits, after you get as far south as Philadelphia are incomparably better than any thing of the kind in France.

So difficult is it for countries to know each other!

How much light your correspondent may throw upon the subject remains to be seen.

I beg to be mentioned to D^{r} Day and M^{r} Kingsley, both of whom I doubt not will be willing to receive such a mark of respect from a *Prodigal Son.*

I know not what to tell you of the political condition of France. I do not think there is much danger from conspiracies—the Frenchmen dare not trust each other enough to conspire with success. Then the Government is very decided in all its steps witness the manner in which the National Guard has been disbanded. But as this is a fierce people and one altogether governed by impulses, it is hard to pronounce on the future. The Government seems chiefly impressed with the truth that the Revolution was produced by, or rather might have been prevented but for, the imbecility of Louis XVI. It appears determined not to fall by a similar fault. All this decision might do if it were well regulated. The effect of their policy is, undoubtedly, to sour the public mind. An unfortunate measure might kindle a flame they could not extinguish, by raising the nation en masse. It is however more probable that a change of ministers will give a new direction to public feeling and lessen the danger. Then there is the constant probability, or I should say liability to foreign war, a step that the ministers would at any moment take rather than lose their places. The vapid vanity of the nation is constantly furnishing them with opportunities—witness the absurd question of Count d'Appiny and the military titles, this winter. An artful minister might easily have produced a war from

that foolish business which would momentarily have appeased the mortified pride, or rather vanity, of this trivial people. To sum up the whole, with a nation so little governed by reflection it is impossible to predict anything with certainty, though it is well known that all restless tempers are anxious for change at any hazard.

Believe me my dear Sir
Yours very sincerely
J. Fenimore Cooper.

Dr. Silliman Paris May 12th 1827

This letter was written at the zenith of Cooper's literary reputation shortly after the appearance of *The Last of the Mohicans.* Only the previous year the New York Legislature had changed the family name by request to Fenimore-Cooper, but that he soon dropped the hyphen is shown by this signature. The handwriting is exceedingly small but clear, the long letter filling less than two sides of a small sheet. Cooper's disgust at foreign ignorance of America, as shown in these pages, was soon to be reflected in his *Notions of Americans, by a Travelling Bachelor.* This appeared the following year and was designed to correct wrong impressions of his native country.

The letter gives a graphic picture of France in the troubled reign of Charles the Tenth, when the ministry was that of Martignac. But for our purpose its main interest centers in the fact that it was written by Cooper to one of his old Yale teachers and addressed to him at "Yale College, New-Haven." It contains one of the great novelist's relatively few extant personal references to the reason for his leaving college. It is brief but descriptive. He was a "Prodigal Son"! However, our knowledge of the general integrity of his character makes it reasonable to believe that his prodigality did not go far. Probably the gist of the matter was that he found the restraints of the rather narrow college curriculum and life somewhat irksome.

James Gates Percival

Class of 1815

Born, September 15, 1795; Died, May 2, 1856

Poet and Geologist

This versatile and talented man—who lived on the border-land between genius and insanity—hardly merits recognition among the most eminent Yalensians on the ground of his poetry alone. But his contributions to geology were also significant, and when combined with his literary talent, they seem to make his place in this volume fairly earned. As his motive and interests were predominantly those of a man of letters he is considered here rather than under the scientists.

He was the son of a physician of Kensington, Connecticut. His youth was marked by devotion to books and by melancholy. He was different from the other boys in the district school, and preferred to spend most of his time alone. His traits of mind were brilliant but erratic. His Freshman year roommate, Nathaniel S. Wheaton, later President of Trinity College, has left us his impressions of the poet:

> The peculiar traits of character which distinguished him later in life were strongly developed at that time, but not in the same degree.
>
> His manner of life while with us was something like what I am about to relate. On leaving the breakfast-hall, he would go out on a long, solitary walk in the suburbs, returning about an hour before the eleven o'clock recitation, when he would steal silently into the chamber, unlock his desk, and write a few minutes, making a record as we supposed of the poetic inspirations which had visited him in his rambles. This done, he would return his paper to the desk, lock it, and take up the text-book of the subject of the next recitation. This he would look at for half an hour, silent and motionless, when he was fully prepared, whatever the subject might be. After tea, the solitary walk would be repeated, and sometimes prolonged till late in the evening.
>
> During all the time we were intimates he rarely took part in conversation, his mind seeming to be always preoccupied, and dwelling apart in a world of its own. Yet he was uniformly amiable and sometimes even cheerful; and would occasionally, when encouraged, read to us a few lines of what he had written. Neither I nor my

friend, however, suspected to what an extent the poetic passion had possessed him; till, in the summer of our Freshman year, it was rumored in college that he had offered a manuscript volumn of poems to General Howe for publication; which was declined, with something meant for good advice. This brought upon him the raillery of the college boys, which deeply wounded his sensitive nature; and to a question from one of us as to the truth of the report, and some remark, perhaps, not complimentary to his discretion, he burst into a passionate flood of tears, and sobbed out, "I don't care, I *will* be a poet." After that we were careful how we touched the tender spot. His mortification was extreme, as much probably at the publicity of his youthful escapade as at his failure to appear as an author. . . . . It would be difficult, I apprehend, to prove that, during his whole collegiate course, though perfectly inoffensive, and disliked by none, he ever unbosomed himself even in the slightest degree to any one of his companions. The inner history of his mind *at this period* will never be written.[1]

Percival's eccentricities were always marked, but seldom more so than during his undergraduate days, when he was not in sympathy with his classmates nor they with him.[2] He was in the habit of posting up his poems anonymously, and of listening eagerly to hear the student verdict. His half-holidays, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, were spent in studying mathematics or writing verses as a recreation. The killing of one of the mice that then infested his room in Connecticut Hall (top floor, northwest corner) seemed to him a tragedy—"he mourned its loss as if it had been a human being." He was so sensitive physically that he said he felt as though made of glass that would tumble to pieces if touched. He was constantly versifying. President Day stated that the only formal rebuke administered to him as a student was for attempting to immortalize some poetic thoughts on one of the pillars of Old Chapel during prayers! But in spite of these evidences[3] of peculiar mental make-up, he was considered one of the best scholars in the class. In fact it is said that he only missed the Valedictory because of his poor reputation as a speaker.[4] He was a member of Brothers in Unity, and there presented the first part of *Prometheus*. At the Junior Exhibition his subject was

[1] Ward, *Life and Letters of James Gates Percival*, pp. 25-26.
[2] See article by a college contemporary, *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XXVII, p. 53.
[3] Ward, *Percival*, pp. 32, 33, 37, 38.
[4] *Poetical Works of James Gates Percival*, Vol. I, p. xix.

"Imagination." His Commencement Oration was on "The Comparative Value of Scientific and Military Reputation." He also took part in a Dialogue "On the Effects of Jealousy and Revenge."

After graduation he continued his studies at the Yale Medical School. His reputation there is well shown by the following certificate signed by Professor Eli Ives (B.A. 1799), then one of the most eminent medical men in New England:

> This certifies that Dr. James G. Percival has passed through the academical and medical institutions in this college with much credit to himself and satisfaction to his instructors. He is a universal scholar, and as a naturalist is scarcely excelled by any person of his age in the United States. As a medical scholar I may safely say that, from the commencement of the Medical Institution in this place, no one in the examination for a degree of Doctor of Medicine has appeared better than Dr. J. G. Percival. . . . ."[5]

Dr. Percival tried to practice both in his home town and in Charleston, South Carolina, but without success. He had not a temperament fitted for regular professional work, especially as at this time he was liable to violent attacks of depression. These resulted in several attempts at suicide by methods which showed an abnormal mind. With improved health he took up literature as his major life work, although he served terms both as a surgeon in the army and as Professor of Chemistry at West Point.

In 1827 he settled in New Haven, which remained his home for a quarter of a century. Here he worked on definitions for Webster's *Dictionary,* finished *Clio,* and wrote most of the poems collected in the two-volume edition, but as his literary work did not meet with great popular favor he turned to geological studies, and published a *Report of the Geology of the State of Connecticut.* Competent critics have declared this to be a monument of accurate scientific information.

In 1853 he went to Wisconsin to survey lead lands for the American Mining Company, and the next year became the State Geologist. Professor Dana authoritatively summed up his scientific

[5] Ward, *Percival,* p. 50.

work when he said, soon after Percival's death, that "no one in the country has done better work in Geology or work of greater value to the science."[6]

He was one of the most marked personalities of New Haven in the second quarter of the last century, and descriptions of his strange ways are found in many old letters and books. "Ik Marvel," who remembered him well, describes him in his charming *American Lands and Letters:*

> Thin, haggard, unkempt; with a wild look in the eye; scudding through the streets with an uneasy swift pace, his shoes unblackened—untied perhaps; other garments dilapidated and rusty; with a scant old camlet cloak—in chilly weather drawn close about him. . . . . A cantankerous man, taking life hard; taking everything hard, except the minutiæ of learning; most contented and easy when working till midnight on etymologies and on recondite phrases and philologic puzzles—his brain mating itself naturally with task work of that sort. So, too, in certain moments of an abnormal enthusiasm—coming to him more and more rarely as the years waned—slipping into melodious, engaging, even impassioned, verses; but in the general intercourse of life, and in conventional everyday matters, impracticable, disorderly, immethodical, fault-finding, carping—sometimes ugly. . . . . Percival, the man, was never a household thing; living alone—in what often was little better than a garret; testily querulous whenever a cleaning was threatened; shunning women specially everywhere and all wheres; letting dust and grime accumulate over books, garments, papers, person; bolting his food without much taste for its savors; wandering among the hills for days to settle some point in crystallization or about the laminæ of rocks; bothering his head for weeks concerning the exact significance of some Scandinavian phrase; coy of any hand-shakings; restless if he encountered unexpectedly an acquaintance; his eyes staring with a wild glitter in them—straight forward—this was Percival.[7]

Such was James Gates Percival, one of the most talented and erratic of the sons of Yale. That he had a brilliant mind cannot be doubted. He could read ten languages fluently, and had written verses in thirteen. He combined with poetic gifts an extraordinary knowledge of several scientific subjects, including geology, philology, and botany. It is worth while for Yale to have had such a universal scholar, and the mere fact of his eccentricities added so much of mystery and romance to his reputation, as to make him even more

[6] Ward, *Percival*, p. 418.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

of an asset as a college "character." His poetry is not read today, but some of the most competent of his contemporary critics, such as Edward Everett,[8] William Cullen Bryant,[9] and Professor Ticknor,[10] paid high tribute to his talents, while the *London Athenæum* called him "the most interesting man in America," and said that if born in Europe he would "have had fame and fortune thrust upon him."[11] Whittier seemed the most appreciative of all:

> God pity the man who does not love the poetry of Percival! He is a genius of Nature's own making,—that singular and high-minded poet. He has written much that will live while the pure and beautiful and glorious, in poetry and romance, are cherished among us. His aim has always been lofty,—up, up, into a clearer sky and a holier sunshine; and if he has failed at all, he has failed in warring with the thunder-cloud, and crossing the path of the live lightning. His Prometheus is a noble poem. There is no affectedness about it,—all is grand and darkly majestic. It has few soft and delicate passages,—no tinge of the common love-poetry of the day,—no breathings of vows to "rose-lipped angels in petticoats,"—no dalliance with a "lady's curls." He had left *such* things to the dandies in literature,—to our love-sick and moonstruck race of rhymers,—and went forth in the dignity and power of a man, to grapple with the dark thoughts which thronged before him, moulding them into visible and tangible realities. The apostrophe to the sun in this poem, we have ever looked upon as the most magnificent specimen of American poetry within our knowledge.[12]

This is high praise from a worthy source. The opinion was shared by an enthusiastic undergraduate reviewer, who, writing in 1833, calls Percival "the first man by far"[13] in American poetry. It does not, however, indicate the view of present-day authorities. Stedman says that his verse was not so truly poetic as his temperament.[14] Professor Lounsbury[15] admires his ability, but declares most of his verse mediocre, and condemns him severely for posing as an unappreciated genius. James Russell Lowell devotes a long essay to him, mainly given to disparaging his claim to serious consideration as a poet.

[8] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 724.
[9] Ward, *Percival*, p. 77.
[10] *Poetical Works of James Gates Percival*, Vol. I, p. xliv.
[11] Quoted by *Allibone*, under Percival.
[12] Ward, *Percival*, p. 117.
[13] *The Medley*, Yale College, 1833, p. 65.
[14] Stedman, *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, p. 359.
[15] Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 61.

"He offers," says Lowell, "as striking an example as could be found of the poetic temperament unballasted with those less obvious qualities which make the poetic faculty. His verse carries every inch of canvas that diction and sentiment can crowd, but the craft is cranky, and we miss that deep-grasping keel of reason which alone can steady and give direction."[16]

His Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Yale in 1822 was *On some of the Moral and Political Truths derivable from the Study of History.* He also wrote an "Alumni Hymn,"[17] first read before the Association of the Alumni in 1842. There are seven stanzas of which the last is:

Honor to Mother Yale:
She must forever stand,
Though other lights should fail,
The sunlight of our land.
Sons of that light
With zeal conspire,
As one unite
To raise her higher!

Ward's *Life of James Gates Percival* is a most appreciative and thorough piece of work. There is a portrait of the poet in the Dining Hall, presented, in 1913, by the Corporation of Harvard University.

As Percival was distinguished in two entirely different lines—literature and science—he is represented in the collection by two autographs. One is a sheet from the preliminary manuscript used in the preparation of his *Geology of Connecticut.* It is entirely unintelligible to the lay mind. The minuteness of the handwriting is noticeable. It was this work that the *American Journal of Science,* in January, 1843, discussed editorially as follows:

When we remember the learning and talent of the author, and the laborious accuracy with which he investigates every subject which occupies his attention,—that he began his exploration in 1835, and has pursued it with great diligence until the present year,—that he has been personally and on foot contact with every one

[16] Lowell, *Works,* Standard Library Edition, Vol. II, p. 141.
[17] Ward, *Percival,* pp. 578-579.

of the four thousand six hundred square miles in the State, and has carefully collated and compared more than eight thousand specimens, besides much more numerous dips and bearings,—it cannot be doubted that he has laid the foundation for all future investigations into the geology of Connecticut.[18]

The original signed manuscript is added of a poem dated Berlin [Connecticut], September 20, 1816, and entitled "Elegy." This appears in his collected poems under the title of "The Mourner."[19] It opens with these characteristic lines:

> Low sinks the sun beneath the western wave
> And twilight deepens in the eastern sky
> Pale is the gloom that shades yon lonely graves
> Where twin'd in death two lovely sisters lie.
> Slow wave the boughs above their clay-cold bed
> And sighing zephyrs breathe a mournful sound
> Hush'd is each song each beam of day is fled
> And chilly dew-drops softly fall around.

This poem was written at the same period which produced "The Suicide." It reflects his mournful and despondent condition. His failure to receive a college tutorship was one of the contributing causes of his gloom.

[18] Ward, *Percival*, p. 380.
[19] Percival, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 478.

Nathaniel Parker Willis

Class of 1827

Born, January 20, 1806; Died, January 20, 1867

Poet and Man of Letters

N. P. Willis, as he is generally known in the literary world, was born in Portland, Maine. His father was a well-known publisher, his mother a woman of uncommon gifts of mind and soul. The son obtained most of his preliminary education at the Boston Latin School, and at Phillips Academy, Andover. Yale made its deep impress upon him, and he played a conspicuous part in the college life of his time. As a Freshman he joined Linonia, became a member of the class debating club, and was a manager of a religious organization known as the Bible Society, evidently the successor of the class founded in 1821, which is believed to have been the first voluntary Bible class in the College.[1] To round out his Freshman year experiences he was suspended for a short period for his refusal to name the Sophomore who had indulged in the erstwhile form of hazing known as "smoking and squirting," a favorite way of annoying Freshmen. The Library preserves the following straightforward "confession" addressed to President Day:

Sir,

Having been convinced from reflection, and from consideration with Prof. Goodrich that the course which I have taken is a wrong one, and the principle upon which I have acted a false one—I now, according to this advice, declare that in future I will adhere to the laws of college, if I am permitted to remain.—Having acted from the first impulse of my feelings—and without a candid and serious consideration of the matter, I am reduced to hope that the Faculty will comply with my wish,—which is a restoration to college duties, & privileges.—

N. B. A full disclosure of the circumstances which were referred to, had been made and of course any information from me would not avail in this case.—

Most respectfully Sir

Your obt St,

N. P. Willis—[2]

[1] Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 313.
[2] MS. Willis Letter, written in January, 1824.

He was suspended again in Sophomore year, when he was one of the eighty-four men who took part in the "Conic Sections Rebellion," described in the sketch of Bushnell. That he keenly enjoyed his undergraduate years is shown by a quotation from *The Cherokee's Threat:*

> It was the only republic I have ever known,—that class of freshmen. It was a fair arena. . . . . Of the feelings that stir the heart in our youth,—of the few, the *very* few, that have no recoil and leave no repentance,—this leaping from the starting post of mind, this first spread of the encouraged wing in the free heaven of thought and knowledge, is recorded in my own slender experience as the most joyous and the most unmingled.[3]

Willis was a poor scholar, most of his averages being very near the passing mark of two on a scale of four. In company with most literary men he had no talent for mathematics, although his stand in Latin was good. He made much use of the Library—one of the best habits an undergraduate can form—but used it for roaming through fields of literature, rather than for scholarly work. The records of the Brothers Society show that he took out a great many books, and also that he was not at all prompt about their return. His literary talent became so marked that it gained outside recognition. In fact, Professor Beers states that as an undergraduate he made a national reputation by his writings. It was at this time that *Absalom* and *The Sacrifice of Abraham* were written, the first of the long series of religious poems which were so popular in his day. Willis' roommate in college was Henry Durant (q.v.), later well known as President of the University of California, a man of strong character, whose influence upon him was good. His own tendency was to be gay, although not dissipated. He enjoyed the lighter side of college life, and entered heartily into all its doings. Here is a characteristic glimpse of the boisterous frolics of the time, taken from one of his letters in 1824:

> Christmas has always been, ever since the establishment of the college, emphatically a *day of tricks:* windows broken, bell-rope cut, freshmen squirted,

[3] Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis*, p. 39.

and every imaginable scene of dissipation acted out in full. Last night they barred the entry doors of the South College, to exclude the government, and then illuminated the building. This morning the recitation-room doors were locked and the key stolen, and we were obliged to knock down the doors to get in; and then we were not much better off, for the lamps were full of water and the wicks gone. However, we procured others, and went on with the lesson.[4]

He gave the Poem at Commencement, the manuscript of which is still preserved in the University Library, and returned a few years later (1841) to deliver before the Linonian Society *The Elms of New Haven.* Alas, their glory has long departed! It is to be hoped that it may return to inspire the Yale Muses of the future.[5]

. . . . The leaves we knew
Are gone, these many summers, and the winds
Have scatter'd them all roughly through the world;
But still, in calm and venerable strength,
The old stems lift their burthens up to heaven,
And the young leaves to the same pleasant tune,
Drink in the light, and strengthen, and grow fair,
The shadows have the same cool, emerald air;
And prodigal as ever is the breeze,
Distributing the verdure's temperate balm.
The trees are sweet to us. The outcry strong
Of the long-wandering and returning heart,
Is for the thing least changed. A stone unturn'd,
Is sweeter than a strange or alter'd face;
A tree, that flings its shadow as of yore,
Will make the blood stir, sometimes, when the words
Of a long-look'd-for lip fall icy cold.
Ye, who in this Academy of shade,
Dreamt out the scholar's dream, and then away
On troubled seas went voyaging with Care,
But hail to-day the well-remember'd haven—
Ye, who at memory's trumpet-call, have stay'd

[4] Beers, *Willis,* p. 37. This account would at least lead one to suppose that the college danger of the time was not an over-sensitiveness to the ways of polite society, yet, in Willis' Sophomore year, the Faculty determined to put an end to extravagance in dress, and decided upon the character of a simple uniform to be worn by all students. Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* p. 519.

[5] One of the best of Yale songs was that written by Francis Miles Finch (q.v.). Its reference to the elms is also worth quoting:

And roll the song in waves along,
For the hours are bright before us,
And grand and hale are the elms of Yale,
Like fathers, bending o'er us.

The struggling foot of life, the warring hand,
And, weary of the strife, come back to see
The green tent where your harness was put on—
Say—when you trod the shadowy street this morn,
Leapt not your heart up to the glorious trees![6]

After graduation Willis' work was mainly that of a literary editor and contributor, especially in connection with the *New York Mirror,* which became the leading New World organ of literature and society. With this magazine he was connected for almost two decades. He became its foreign correspondent, traveled extensively in Europe, and served for a time as an attaché of the American Legation in Paris. His delightful accounts of European travel were justly popular. Their titles show their character: *Loiterings of Travel, Famous Persons and Places, Pencillings by the Way,*—but his only novel and his dramas were failures. His main success was as a man of letters in the editorial chair of the *Mirror* and of the *Home Journal,* and as a writer of two forms of literature as far apart as the poles—sketches of society and poetic versions of Scripture! His early literary success was phenomenal. It did not increase in later life. His poems are found in all the anthologies, but he wrote nothing that will endure among the classics. His name, however, will always stand as that of one of the leading American men of letters and exponents of culture in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. James Russell Lowell, in *A Fable for Critics,* gives a sketch of Willis, as true as it is clever:

There's Willis so *natty* and jaunty and gay,
Who says his best things in so foppish a way,
With conceits and pet phrases so thickly o'erlaying 'em,
That one hardly knows whether to thank him for saying 'em. . . . .
His prose had a natural grace of its own,
And enough of it, too, if he'd let it alone,
But he twitches and jerks so one fairly gets tired,
And is forced to forgive where he might have admired.
Yet whenever it slips away free and unlaced
It runs like a stream with a musical waste,

[6] *The Poems, Sacred, Passionate, and Humorous of Nathaniel Parker Willis,* p. 224.

NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS

CLASS OF 1827

The struggling foot of life, the warring hand,
And, weary of the strife, come back to see
The green tent where your harness was put on—
Say—when you trod the shadowy street this morn,
Leapt not your heart up to the glorious trees![6]

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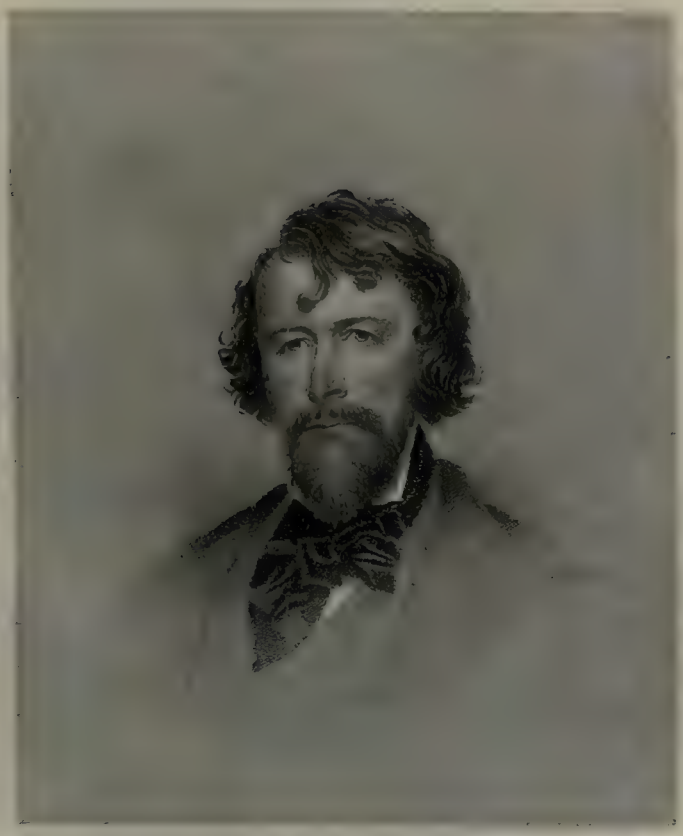
Yet whenever it slips away free and unlaced
It runs like a

[6] *The Poems, Sacred [illegible] Nathaniel Parker Willis*, p. 224.



And gurgles along with the liquidest sweep.
'Tis not deep as a river, but who'd have it deep? . . . .
No volume I know to read under a tree
More truly delicious than his à l'Abri,
With the shadows of leaves flowing over your book,
Like ripple-shades netting the bed of a brook;
With June coming softly your shoulder to look over,
Breezes waiting to turn every leaf of your book over,
And Nature to criticise still as you read—
The page that bears that is a rare one indeed. . . . .
His nature's a glass of champagne with the foam on't,
As tender as Fletcher, as witty as Beaumont;
So his best things are done in the flush of the moment:
If he wait, all is spoiled: he may stir it and shake it,
But, the fixed air once gone, he can never remake it. . . . .
He'd have been just the fellow to sup at the Mermaid,
Cracking jokes at rare Ben, with an eye to the bar-maid,
His wit running up as Canary ran down,—
The topmost bright bubble on the wave of The Town.[7]

A large reproduction of a picture of Willis as a young man hangs in the Linonia and Brothers Library. Professor Beers' *Nathaniel Parker Willis* in the American Men of Letters series is an adequate and delightfully written biography.

(Hudson Highlands)
Cornwall, Aug. 5. '50
(At Mr. Sutherland's)

My dear Ruggles

I received a note from Mr. Balmanno yesterday, by which I find that he has made rather a different application to you than one I suggested, and I fear that you have been much more bor'd than was expedient or proper—albeit I did purpose to burthen you a little. I will tell you just how much.

O'Connor & other friends of Mrs. F. having decided that her just defence, by republican law, could not well be had without a raising of funds, we talked over the means of coming at them. I gave Balmanno a list of men, who, I thought, kept ever a spare $100 at the service of a good cause, but, remembering Mr. Brooks's kind message through you, offering money, if needed, to bring Forrest to criminal trial, it occurred to me, that, to Brooks & twenty

[7] Lowell, *A Fable for Critics*, pp. 45-47, in Vol. III of *Poetical Works*.

such men, you were the ally & oracle, & that the whole sum might be raised in this confidential circle, if *you* should choose to be willing to say the word. I said as much to Balmanno, expecting that he would request nothing of you but this mention of the matter to the twenty princes whom we could both designate. To this extent I was willing to intrude upon you, & you may perhaps wonder, even at this much. It seemed the shorter horn of a dilemma, however—no other way occurring to me by which a noble creature, worthy of your friendship & mine, could be rescued from the brutalities of a villain. I feel very certain that the gentlemen I mean, would willingly give the means to defend Mrs. Forrest, were they but persuaded of her deserving as a pure woman. They would believe *you*, & I was very sure that you had believed *me*, as far as I was capable of judging, for I had spoken of the matter to you with such expressions of belief in her virtue as no true man would use to his friend without reason. Tho' the matter would trouble you, therefore, and was especially untimely under your present grief & needed seclusion, it seemed the least of two leavings-alone.

Of course you are lawyer enough, to understand, that I have been waived by O'Connor from any direct action in this matter, (being one of the parties accused), but you know me enough, besides, to be sure that I would not burthen a friend with any service of the kind which could as well fall on myself. The reward I shall eventually receive from public opinion, (for having performed loyal friendship to a woman under trying circumstances) would abundantly compensate me for doing all within scope of my pen & pocket. It is my good fortune, in this case, to have a pure woman for a client—(which might not always have happen'd)—and her gratitude is so well worth having, into the bargain, that I should claim no merit for any cost of defending her. You are a preux chevalier, my dear Ruggles, & know that there are women, such as we wish our daughters to be, in whose defense we can loyally spare nothing. But perhaps I have said all that I need say, in this my apology to you.

My own matter with Forrest will be disagreeable enough, but I am making not a small sacrifice to do the public a service in it. A shot at him would have eas'd a world of uncomfortable feeling—but the admitting him to the equality of a duel would have established a precedent, after which any stronger man could have beat a weaker one half to death with no penalty. If the law makes a deterring example of Forrest for his brutality, I shall feel that I have at least help'd to cripple the rampant brutality growing up among us, tho' I shall be far from feeling that my quarrel with Forrest is thus *done*. As I told you, at my door, the necessity of defending the woman he assaulted at the same time as the cause, influenced me to bring such a suit as would make him expose the falsehood of his provocation—that being of course his only defense—

& of course it was more important to leave the dog alive as a prov'd liar, than to kill him with the chance of his passing for a martyr!

But I am boring you, & my sheet is waxing full. I am summering in an enchanting neighborhood, which you ought to see. I have taken a whole house, & have two spare beds. Cannot you come & pass a day or two, & let me show you some delicious scenery?

Yours in sincere friendship

N. P. Willis

S. B. Ruggles

This letter regarding the Forrest divorce trial calls to mind a *cause célèbre* that at the time absorbed national attention. Edwin Forrest, the famous actor, had a suit for divorce brought against him by his wife. He replied by a countersuit which involved Willis. The case was before the courts in New York for two years. It was decided in Mrs. Forrest's favor on all points, and she was granted alimony of $3,000 a year. Charles O'Conor, afterwards the leader of the metropolitan Bar, represented Mrs. Forrest, the defendant, while John Van Buren, who was in the class below Willis at Yale, a son of President Van Buren, and other distinguished counsel, represented her husband.

Mr. Ruggles, to whom the letter is addressed, was graduated from Yale in 1814, and was one of the most public-spirited citizens of New York City. The reference to the possibility of a duel with Forrest is interesting, as Willis once exchanged shots in England with Captain Marryatt, because of a controversy growing out of Willis' indiscretion in reproducing in *Pencillings by the Way* some personal talk on the Irish question that he had heard at the dinner table of distinguished people in England.[8]

The letter is a fine piece of writing, showing throughout the righteous indignation of a man with a keen sense of honor. Mrs. Willis stood by her husband loyally during the trial. The brilliant handling of the case by O'Conor brought him a national reputation, and convinced the intelligent public that Willis was entirely innocent.

[8] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, Vol. II, p. 439.

Donald Grant Mitchell

Class of 1841

Born, April 12, 1822; Died, December 15, 1908

Author

Few Yale graduates have endeared themselves more to the reading public than "Ik Marvel." He was born in Norwich, Connecticut. His father, a Congregational minister, and his grandfather, Stephen Mix Mitchell (B.A. 1763), a distinguished member of the Continental Congress and Chief Justice of Connecticut, were both Yale graduates. He prepared for college at the Ellington School, in the Connecticut town of the same name, a private boarding institution of high repute. It was conducted by a Yale graduate, Dr. John Hall (B.A. 1802), the original of the hero in Mitchell's only novel, *Dr. Johns.*[1] His college course was a distinguished one. He was class orator, editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine,* and a member of the oldest of the Senior societies. His valedictory oration at graduation was on "The Dignity of Learning." In keeping with most embryo authors, his college scholarship was only moderately good, but his literary work was excellent. There is in the Yale Library a manuscript volume, prepared over a half century ago, containing the names of authors of the various articles in early numbers of the "Lit." From this we are able to identify Mitchell's exceptionally numerous contributions. Here are the titles: "A Chapter in a Life," "A Night in the Hospital," "Bulwer," "James Fenimore Cooper," "More Scraps from my Diary," "Sketches of Real Life," "Sir Walter Scott," "The Heir of Lichtenstein," "Thoughts upon Novel Reading," "The Mirror or Tablets of an Idle Man," "The Antique Infant School," and various editorials. The titles, as well as the ways of treatment, are characteristic of the later "Ik Marvel," with his informality, sympathetic penetration, and literary flavor.

[1] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. IV, p. 346.

He has described his manner of life as an undergraduate in his introduction to the *Semi-Centennial Record of the Class of 1841:*

Yale men of that day were not Sybarites. And if, as townsman, I knew nothing of the hazings and aromatic incense burning about South Middle, I had a very vital knowledge of the hardship of being routed from bed at half-past five, and of toiling in the winter season through snow drifts (before the days of Goodyear rubber boots) to college prayers at six; where the obscurity of the old chapel was lighted only by whale-oil lamps, flickering in the frosty atmosphere, and where the uneasy shuffling of benumbed feet was sure to come into the pauses of good Dominie Day's tremulous invocations. After this—we groped our way—still under night skies—to the Division Rooms—reeking with oily odors, and showing steaming pans of water upon the tops of the new "Olmsted's patent double cylinder stoves."

By lamp-light—which daybreak presently made dim—we had our drowsy recitation; then came the rush, not over eager, or with much Apician zest, to our "Commons" breakfast of half-past seven, under the benignant mastership of "Caleb Mix, Steward." If a boarder was ill and proper word came to this Benignity of the Commons, there was sent out a little brown pot, with white parallel stripes (capacity 3 gills) of coffee and milk, with two slices of bread atop of it. And even such a breakfast I did sometimes devour with gusto—when the snows were too deep, or the way not clear, for a clandestine slip down Chapel street to "Marm Dean's," (next above what is now Træger's) for her better coffee and an unctuous bit of her buttered waffles.[2]

In the *Reveries of a Bachelor* he has given us a picture of the College Faculty of his day, that must always remain a classic:

I happened only a little while ago to drop into the college chapel of a Sunday. There were the same hard oak benches below, and the lucky fellows who enjoyed a corner seat were leaning back upon the rail, after the old fashion. The tutors were perched up in their side-boxes, looking as prim and serious and important as ever. The same stout Doctor[3] read the hymn in the same rhythmical way; and he prayed the same prayer, for (I thought) the same old sort of sinners. As I shut my eyes to listen, it seemed as if the intermediate years had all gone out; and that I was on my own pew-bench, and thinking out those little schemes for excuses or for effort, which were to relieve me or to advance me, in my college world. There was a pleasure—like the pleasure of dreaming about forgotten joys—in listening to the Doctor's sermon; he began in the same half-embarrassed, half-awkward way; and fumbled at his Bible-leaves, and the poor pinched cushion, as he did long before. But as he went on with his rusty and polemic vigor, the poetry within him would now and then warm his soul into a burst of fervid eloquence, and his face would glow, and his hand tremble, and the cushion and the Bible-leaves be all

[2] *Semi-Centennial Record,* pp. vi and vii.
[3] Rev. Prof. E. T. Fitch.

forgot, in the glow of his thought, until with a half-cough, and a pinch at the cushion, he fell back into his strong but treadmill argumentation.

In the corner above was the stately, whitehaired professor,[4] wearing the old dignity of carriage, and a smile as bland as if the years had all been playthings; and had I seen him in his lecture-room I daresay I should have found the same suavity of address, the same marvellous currency of talk, and the same infinite composure over the exploding retorts.

Near him was the silver-haired old gentleman[5]—with a very astute expression—who used to have an odd habit of tightening his cloak about his nether limbs. I could not see that his eye was any the less bright; nor did he seem less eager to catch at the handle of some witticism, or bit of satire,—to the poor student's cost. I remembered my old awe of him, I must say, with something of a grudge; but I had got fairly over it now. There are sharper griefs in life than a professor's talk.

Farther on, I saw the long-faced, dark-haired man[6] who looked as if he were always near some explosive, electric battery, or upon an insulated stool. He was, I believe, a man of fine feelings; but he had a way of reducing all action to dry, hard, mathematical system, with very little poetry about it. I know there was not much poetry in his problems in physics, and still less in his half-yearly examinations. But I do not dread them now.

Over opposite, I was glad to see still the aged head of the kind and generous old man[7] who in my day presided over the college; and who carried with him the affections of each succeeding class,—added to their respect for his learning. This seems a higher triumph to me now than it seemed then. A strong mind, or a cultivated mind, may challenge respect; but there is needed a noble one to win affection.

A new man now filled his place in the President's seat; but he was one whom I had known, and had been proud to know.[8] His figure was bent, and thin—the very figure that an old Flemish master would have chosen for a scholar. His eye had a kind of piercing lustre, as if it had long been fixed on books; and his expression—when unrelieved by his affable smile—was that of hard midnight toil. With all his polish of mind he was a gentleman at heart; and treated us always with a manly courtesy that is not forgotten.[9]

The Faculty was small, but every man who held a Professor's chair was marked by intellectual and moral culture. Such a description gives us a deep respect for the ideals of the College in the days of the old Brick Row. Here is an account reflecting his early Campus impressions:

There is a tingling sensation in first walking under the shadow of those walls,

[4] Prof. Benjamin Silliman.
[5] Prof. J. L. Kingsley.
[6] Prof. Denison Olmsted.
[7] Rev. President Jeremiah Day.
[8] Rev. President Theodore D. Woolsey.
[9] *Reveries of a Bachelor,* Fourth Reverie, section entitled "Noon."

uncouth as they are, and in feeling that you belong to them,—that you are a member, as it were, of the body-corporate, subject to an actual code of printed laws, and to actual moneyed fines varying from a shilling to fifty cents.

There is something exhilarating in the very consciousness of your subject state, and in the necessity of measuring your hours by the habit of such a learned community. You recall your old-fashioned respect for the lank figure of some teacher of boy-days as a childish weakness; even the little coteries of the home fire-side lose their importance when compared with the extraordinary sweep and dignity of your present position.

It is pleasant to measure yourself with men; and there are those about you who seem to your untaught eye to be men already.[10]

The last sentence touches upon one of the greatest and most developing privileges of English and American college life—the student's opportunity to test his ability and his power of leadership with youth from all over the nation. Mitchell's writings are full of similar delightful descriptions of undergraduate days at Yale. Turn particularly to *Dream Life* and read the chapters entitled "College Romance" and "Cloister Life." The man with bloodshot eyes who goes to his tutor after a spree with his "story of sudden sickness," is fortunately a less familiar type than formerly, and it is to relatively few today that "an amiable and modest fancy gives . . . . a sweet classic grace" to the charming daughters of professors who come to the Sunday Chapel services! But, in the main, college life has always the same charm, and our author describes it with a fine, romantic touch.

Most of the early years after graduation were spent in Europe, traveling for his health, and accumulating a fund of literary material. In 1850 he published *Reveries of a Bachelor*, which immediately gained him broad recognition, and followed it the next year by *Dream Life*, another work of much charm of thought and style. These books were midway between regular novels and such genial studies as the *Sketch-Book* of Irving. They are marked by purity of style, depth of sentiment, and a mellow outlook on life. In 1855 he purchased "Edgewood," the beautiful hillside estate two miles west of

[10] Mitchell, *Dream Life*, p. 104, Scribner's 1889 Edition.

New Haven, which has been for over half a century a place of pilgrimage for Yale men. Here he devoted himself to writing and to country pursuits, especially farming and landscape architecture. For the latter he had much ability, which was used by the city of New Haven to advantage, especially in the laying out of East Rock and Fort Hale parks. He gave much time to writing on agricultural subjects, to the study of Italian history, and to genealogical researches, but belles-lettres represented his main interest and talent. Many of his stories and light essays appeared first in the *Atlantic, Harper's,* the *Knickerbocker,* and other literary magazines of the time. One of his books, *American Lands and Letters,* with its delightful comments on prominent men and events, is quoted frequently in this book. In 1907, his publishers, realizing the general interest in "Ik Marvel," issued the complete Edgewood edition of his works, in fifteen volumes.

He retained his interest in the University throughout life. He gave in the early years occasional lectures before the students on his literary pilgrimages in England, was long officially connected with the School of the Fine Arts, received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1878, was Lecturer on English Literature for a year in the early eighties, and honored the Bicentennial, just before his eightieth birthday, by making an address of unusual charm at the dedication of Woodbridge Hall. It contained fine pleas for the humanities and for breadth of sympathy with all learning, and closed with a prophecy of the future development of Yale. Here are the words he used, and very characteristic they are of his style. They created an impression that October afternoon, as he read them with a rich voice—the embodiment of his fine spirit—that was not surpassed for beauty by anything at the great commemoration:

> Long may it last, poised here midway between the groups of offices dedicated to science, and those others, southward, dedicated to letters and the humanities!
>
> And whoso holds the reins in this comely administrative center should see to it that there is even working of these two great teams of progress: no nagging at

one, while free rein is given to the other! Ah, what fine judgment belongs to driving well, whether on coaches, or in colleges or in capitols!

There are oldish people astir—gone-by products of these mills of learning—who will watch anxiously lest harm be done to apostles of the old humanities. You may apotheosize the Faradays and Danas and the Edisons and Huxleys, and we will fling our caps in the air. But we shall ask that you spare us our Plato, our Homer, our Vergil, our Dante, and perhaps our "chattering" Aristotle and scoffing Carlyle. Truth, however and wherever won, without nervous expression to spread and plant it, is helpless—a bird without wings! And there are beliefs tenderly cherished—and I call the spires of nineteen centuries to witness—which do not rest on the Lens or Scalpel!

I hope that the glow of a hundred other Octobers may mellow the tone of this marble hall, and that, within times we laggards may hope to reach, a broad esplanade, all unencumbered, and flanked with shading lindens (if the elms fail us), shall sweep away southward, and by a rich, lofty, fretted portal, cloven through the walls of Durfee, give rich and far perspective into the court of the great Academe beyond!

And I see in mind's eye, springing from this lofty portal, a new Rialto, stiff with sinews of steel, rich with quaint emblems, spanning at one bound the surging tides of traffic that ebb and flow through Elm Street, binding the two great courts in one; and with winged figures in bronze upon the parapets, recording Yale's triumphs of the past, and heralding a thousand other triumphs to come![11]

He was a man of strikingly handsome appearance, of beautiful character, and of charming personality. He had that indescribable something about him that gives a man "atmosphere" and makes him a center of interest in every literary circle. Yale students always felt it a privilege if they but passed him on one of his daily walks, which he kept up until so near the end, and to which he attributed much of his robust health.

His portrait, by John Ferguson Weir, hangs in the University Dining Hall.

To President Woolsey

My dear Sir,

Your recent favor announcing the fact of my appointment to a place in the Council for the "Art School" came in my absence.

I beg to say—with due acknowledgment for the honor conferred—that I shall be most happy to do all in my power to further the aims of those who have so generously endowed this new College Adjunct. I have no great

[11] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, pp. 426, 427.

knowledge of the technicalities of Art, but have considerable faith in my *feeling* for it. And I have a strong trust that under judicious management, this new school may be made to add to the old equipments of your Institution a keener edge & a higher polish.

With great respect

I remain Sincerely Yrs

DOND. G. MITCHELL.

Edgewood
27th Octr 1865.

This is one of the earliest documents in connection with the Yale School of the Fine Arts, the first separate department of its kind to be made an organic part of a great university.[12] The building south of the Library, erected through the generosity of Augustus R. Street (B.A. 1812) to house the works of art belonging to the University and to become the home of the new school, was begun in 1864, and completed in 1866. The organization was effected in 1868. Professor Weir was called to the directorship in 1869, and the Jarves Collection of Italian Masters, which had been deposited at the University in 1867, and of itself gives the school international distinction, was purchased soon afterwards. Mr. Mitchell was deeply interested in the welfare of this department of the University, and served on its Council from 1865 to 1898. He delivered under its auspices his published essay on *Titian and his Times,* and other addresses. His hope in the future influence of the school, as expressed in the letter printed above, was well founded.

[12] See *President's Report* for 1912, p. 234.

Edmund Clarence Stedman

Class of 1853

Born, October 8, 1833; Died, January 18, 1908

Literary Critic and Poet

Edmund Clarence Stedman was the son of a Hartford merchant. He was prepared for the entrance examinations by his great-uncle, James Stedman (B.A. 1801), a lawyer, who had been a tutor at the College. He entered Yale in 1849, with a class that contained an unusual number of men who were to attain eminence: among them a distinguished diplomat and educator, Andrew Dickson White; a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, George Shiras; a public man of wide influence, Wayne MacVeagh; a journalist known as well in England as in America, George W. Smalley, and the missionary, Hiram Bingham (q.v.).

His college career was interrupted by Faculty action, when half finished, and it was not until 1871 that his degree was conferred upon him. He experienced the same fate as Fenimore Cooper (q.v.) at Yale and as Shelley at Oxford. The reason for his dismissal is thus given in the Faculty Records:

> Stedman, Soph. was dismissed for having been present at a "dance house" near the head of the wharf, ... He had been there more than once and been once in the hands of the police for riotous behavior.[1]

Fortunately his character was not seriously compromised. His undergraduate course, both in its lights and shades, is so clearly set forth in the following letter that comment is unnecessary:

New York, April 24, 1871.

Reverend Theodore D. Woolsey,
President of Yale College:

Dear Sir:

The object of this letter is to convey, through you, to the Faculty of Yale College, my respectful petition that the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts

[1]MS. Faculty Records, April 9, 1851.

may be conferred upon me; and that, if this request be granted, the diplomas may date from the years 1853 and 1856, as would have been the case had I completed my academic course.

In 1849, I was admitted as a Freshman, after sound preparation, to the Class of '53. For a while I stood well on the list, but, falling into irregularities and violating rules, I was suspended during the latter portion of the Sophomore year. In the Junior year I made application for readmission. You treated me with kindness, and laid the case before the Faculty, which body voted that I should not return to Yale, but that it would not be deemed contrary to the comity of Colleges if any other institution should receive me.

Without availing myself of the latter clause I went on with the studies of the course; but was fairly entered upon the profession of journalism at the time of the graduation of my Class.

After a period of twenty years, and at the request of many of my classmates, I make this petition, and would respectfully urge the following pleas in my own behalf:

1. I was a mere boy—the youngest in a class of over one hundred—during my probation at Yale. My father was dead, my mother residing in Europe; and I may say truly that, although under the care of a guardian at Norwich, I had not a single friend or adviser in New Haven; and that, from utter loneliness, trouble, and inexperience, I fell into the dissipation that drew me from my proper studies, and ultimately caused my suspension. In one department my course, perhaps, was satisfactory. The first prize was given me for English Composition, in the second Sophomore term. In the third term, it was again awarded to me, but forfeited by my suspension.

2. As soon as I realized my error, I resolved to obtain a higher culture, and to accomplish something that would gain me an honorable name and position. Since my eighteenth year I have studied and worked, dependent entirely upon my own efforts, and with others depending upon me; and believe that I may claim to have secured a reputable and useful foothold, both as a practical journalist, and as a critical essayist and author. These facts are only mentioned as a basis for my claim to the possession of the ordinary qualifications for the Bachelor's and Master's degrees.

* * * * * * * * *

I have not mentioned the subject of this application to either of these gentlemen, nor solicited any influence in my behalf. It has seemed to me more fitting to acknowledge, in person, the justice of the sentence passed upon the boy, and to make a straightforward request that the man may, at last, be placed upon a footing with his class-mates. I intended to defer such action until after the publication of my translation of Theocritus, but have decided to wait no longer, in the hope to

receive from your own honored hands, before your official retirement, knowledge of the revocation of a sentence which you pronounced so many years ago.

I am, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

EDMUND C. STEDMAN.[2]

A few facts may be added to this record. He stood well in Greek, so often a favorite study with men of letters, and he was a frequent contributor to the *Yale Literary Magazine,* of which he would doubtless have been elected an editor had his course not been interrupted. His articles in the "Lit." were "Westminster Abbey," a poem; "Truth in Beauty," an allegory in prose; and an "Ode to Pastoral Romance." He was an active member of Linonia, where he made his mark in Freshman year. On one occasion the subject for debate was, "Should a representative be bound by the will of his constituents?" The records speak for themselves: "Mr. Stedman . . . . was next called for and answered in a very able speech on the affirmative of the question. We have but time here to say that he will never prove a disgrace to himself his class nor Linonia."[3] He also read before his society, "The Rime of the Elle-King," part of which was afterwards published under the title of "Elfin Song." The minutes of the Brothers in Unity have preserved a reference to the first reading of this poem:

At this time an invitation from Linonia to listen to a poem from Mr. Stedman of the Sophomore Class, was received, and the members knowing the small number of seats in our sister's dingy hall rushed off in troops but the Secretary reflecting on the bad quality as well as the small quantity, took it more leisurely, and felt himself well paid even for standing in that hot steaming air by the very pretty poem of Legend and Fairy by which we were favored.[4]

This event is also referred to in the records of Linonia: "Mr. Stedman proceeded to deliver a poem of remarkable finish & general excellence wh. was listened to with great attention. His easy flowing versifica-

[2] Stedman and Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman,* Vol. I, pp. 452-454.
[3] MS. Records of the Linonia Society, November 7, 1849.
[4] MS. Records of Brothers in Unity, for October 30, 1850.

tion appeared to be especially perfect, & the production in every respect was an honor to the poet & the society."[5]

Stedman contributed to *The Tomahawk,* an undergraduate satirical sheet, published by one of the Sophomore societies of the time. He was a member of the old Freshman society of Delta Kap, which is now only a memory, and he wrote a couple of songs for the Wooden Spoon Presentation. Their care-free undergraduate note may be seen from this chorus:

Hi! Juniors! Ho! Juniors
Sound aloud the tune,
While joyously we sing to all
The Glories of the Spoon.[6]

This custom was originated by Henry T. Blake (B.A. 1848), when an undergraduate. It was designed as a burlesque on the Junior Exhibition, and developed into a great undergraduate function, with the annual Spoon Presentation[7] to the most popular man in the Junior Class as its center. In 1871 the old ceremonies were abolished. The nine "Cochleaureati," who had been annually chosen by their class to conduct the affair, became transformed in time into the present Junior Promenade Committee.

A better known, and really fine portrayal, of Stedman's joyous youthful spirit is given in "The Ballad of Lager Bier," which Professor Lounsbury has considered worthy of a place in his Anthology. It begins:

In fallow college days, Tom Harland,
We both have known the ways of Yale,
And talked of many a nigh and far land,
O'er many a famous tap of ale.
There still they sing their Gaudeamus,
And see the road to glory clear;
But taps, that in our day were famous,
Have given place to Lager Bier.[8]

[5] MS. Records of the Linonia Society, October 30, 1850.
[6] From Program of Presentation, May, 1852.
[7] See a most interesting account in Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* pp. 405-423.
[8] Lounsbury, *Yale Book of American Verse,* p. 406.

No man was ever more loyal to his Alma Mater than Stedman, and it grieved him that financial circumstances and literary engagements twice prevented his accepting a chair of English Literature at the University. He remembered her in his will by a bequest to the Library of his books on *Theocritus*. He wrote a Yale *Ode for Commencement* in 1894, when he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. This was set to music by Professor Horatio Parker. The opening lines are:

> Hark! through the archways old
> High voices manifold
> Sing praise to our fair Mother, praise to Yale![9]

At the Bicentennial he delivered the *Mater Coronata,* from which these stanzas are taken:

> Strong Mother! thou who from the doorways old,
> Or housed anew in beauty renovate,
> Hast spread thine heritage a hundredfold,—
> Hast wrought us to thy mould
> Whether the bread of ease or toil we ate;
>
> Thou who hast made thy sons coequal all,
> The least one of thy progeny a peer
> Wearing for worth not birth his coronal,—
> The watchman on thy wall
> Wax proud this sundawn of thy cyclic year!
>
> * * * * *
>
> But we, Yale's living multitude rebrought
> From farthest outposts of the pine and palm,—
> We know her battlements of iron wrought,
> Her captains fearing naught,
> Her voice of welcome rising like a psalm.
>
> We know the still indissoluble chain
> Wherewith the sons are to the Mother bound;
> Nor unto any shall she call in vain
> Who in her heart have lain
> And trod the memoried precinct of her ground.

[9] Camp and Welch, *Yale Her Campus,* etc., p. 217.

God dower her endowering her brood
With knowledge, beauty, valor, from her breast,—
Ingathering from the peopled town, the wood,
The island solitude,
The land's most loyal and its manfullest!

God keep her! Yea, that Soul her soul endue,—
That Spirit of the interstellar void,
That mightier Presence than the fathers knew,—
The source of light wherethrough
Heaven's planets shine in joy and strength deployed.

That Power,—even that which doth impart a share
And semblance of divinity to our kind,—
Hold thee, dear Mother, here and everywhere,—
Thee and thy sons,—in care,
Through centuries yet still loftier use to find!

Mr. Stedman's life was mainly spent in New York City, where he combined two apparently irreconcilable occupations—those of a man of letters and of a stockbroker. In his earlier years he had a hard struggle with poverty, so often the experience of poets. He contributed to *Harper's, Scribner's,* and other magazines, and held various editorial positions, being the war correspondent of the *World* from 1861 to 1863, when he was with the Army of the Potomac. Although a poet of standing, who published many volumes of verse, his most important work was in the field of literary criticism. His *Victorian Poets, Poets of America,* and *American Anthology,* are standard works, which have contributed much to a just appreciation of literature in our country. The success of his collections of American poetry reminds us that the first anthology produced on this side of the Atlantic was the work of a brilliant young Yale graduate, Elihu Hubbard Smith (B.A. 1786).[10] Similarly, the most important recent collection, the *Yale Book of American Verse,* was edited by Professor Lounsbury (B.A. 1859).

Here are tributes to Stedman's work and character by two repre-

[10] *American Poems,* Litchfield, 1793.

sentative men of letters. They were given at the public Carnegie Hall meeting in his memory. William Winter said:

The time on which he entered on the vocation of Literature was savagely unpropitious. The forces surrounding the whole of his progress were those of a cruel materialism,—forces which are somewhat less obstructive now, but which are still regnant and still potentially pernicious. They could not deject his mind nor abate his ardor. He steadfastly adhered to the stately, lovely, ancient traditions of English poetry,—to the standard set by such great and various authors as Dryden and Gray, Goldsmith and Campbell, and Keats,—and he fed the flame that never can be quenched on the altar of that divine art.[11]

Hamilton Wright Mabie made the main speech of the occasion. He had this to say of his "fellow craftsman":

No man of letters in this country has stood more consistently for the dignity and high traditions of his craft than he; and no man has given his work a finer flavor of scholarship, or imparted to it more generously that largeness of view and quiet adjustment to the knowledge of the time in many departments which are possible to the student alone. If he had written occasional lyrics, or those lighter essays which are sometimes produced rapidly in leisure moments, his success would have been notable; but his work has had a substance and continuity such as no other American has achieved who has suffered any division of his vital energy. . . . . Mr. Stedman faced his experiences and bore his burdens with a quiet heroism which not only inspired admiration, but touched his work with spiritual dignity. His optimism was neither easy nor shallow; it had been tested, and it rose from a deep healthfulness of soul. It was rooted in courage and manliness. There is a ring in his books which was in the man; decision of character, pluck, and elan are evident to all students of his style. One feels that he could have led a forlorn hope with the brilliant audacity which often makes a defeat more splendid than a victory.

When, on public occasions, he spoke for Literature, his address had notable dignity of thought and diction. His words at such moments had the weight and gravity of manner, the sense of something large and spiritual, which characterize such verse as "The Hand of Lincoln." His gift was lyrical, his inspirations were vital; it was when he touched life, not with his hand but with his heart, that his poetry gained free and spirited movement. An expert craftsman, a devout student of his art, a poet by the strong impulsion of his nature, a singer of dauntless spirit and generous vision—these are the things he would have hoped might be said in such an hour as this; and these are the things we say today, not only for the love we bore him, but for the truth's sake.[12]

His *Life and Letters,* in two volumes, edited by his granddaughter and Dr. George Gould, is an interesting biography.

[11] *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman,* Vol. II, p. 495.
[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 498, 499.

There is added the original signed manuscript of Stedman's *A Town Sermon,* bearing as its sub-title "The Yule-Tide Homily at Old St. Paul's." It is dated November 17, 1870, and appeared in January, 1872, on the first page of the first issue of a New York publication called *The City.* It breathes the faith in God and man so characteristic of Stedman's verse, and has a fine Christmas ring to it. It is also full of the "banker-poet's" fondness for the metropolis and its busy life. Here are the opening stanzas:

With Christmas wreaths the aisles were green, and every chaptrel hung;
The prayers were said, the gospel read, the Angels' Anthem sung;
The gray-haired rector climbed the steps and in the pulpit stood,
And from the Book he opened wide let fall the broidered rood;
He read his text—the joyful words the shepherds heard of old,
And down through all the ancient church looked kindly at his fold.

"Dear Brethren," the Preacher said, "ye flock that are my charge,
Ye dwell not by the leafy woods, in vales and pastures large:
In city streets, on stony walks, ye set your footsteps down!
God made the Country, one hath writ: what else? *Man made the Town,*
But who hath made the heart of man? who gave his hand the power
To build the stately city-squares, the proud cathedral tower?
And where men house them side by side, & jostle in the ways,
Where toil & pleasure crowd apace, & rights are as the days,
Ye well may trust that He who lived and died for men is near,—
Even as ye feel, this natal morn, His presence with you here!"

Edward Rowland Sill

Class of 1861

Born, April 29, 1841; Died, February 27, 1887

Poet

Sill's reputation has been increasing so steadily since his death that his permanent place in American literature seems to be assured. He was born in Windsor, Connecticut, where his father, who was a graduate of the Yale Medical School, was a physician. A classmate, at the time Chief Justice of Connecticut, and since elected to the governorship, contributed a letter regarding Sill's college course, to the memorial meeting at Oakland, California. It gives such a life-like picture of the poet as an undergraduate that it is here reproduced in full:

My dear Mr. Palmer:

I wish I could be with the Berkeley Club next week, and hear more of Sill's life among you as a man. By his publications, mainly, I know him in the maturity of his character; but to me the real picture and the deepest memory is that of the dreamy, impetuous, sensitive, thoughtful youth of college days. His bent then was all towards the pursuit of the reflective and imaginative, rather than the exact or the historic. If he was any man's disciple, he was Carlyle's. There was nothing conventional in his ideas of things. He must translate human experience into his own thought and language. He must verify his own propositions.

The world was no fool's paradise to him. It looked often black, and always dark—dark with mystery, if not with anguish of soul. "We all remember," he wrote in his junior year, in the Yale Lit., "that day in our boy-life, when first the individual 'I' isolates itself and grasps the truth that my identity is of no more importance in the great sum of things than any other single one of these that are born, and eat, and die about me; nay, more,—is of less importance than many, because worse and weaker than they. And as the truth dawns upon the mind that all men are not equal, that he himself must go through his existence inferior in brain and soul to many of his fellows, the mind opens with a great sigh to take in this truth; patiently, sometimes,—oftener with the whole heart rebelliously clenched against it."

He had no patience with the mere man of business, who had no aspirations beyond money-getting and honor-getting. "Poor petrifactions of men," he said, in apostrophizing them in the same article, "one shudders even to imagine you,

at last, when the great veil is being lifted, with your weazened, world-crusted souls, cringing into the dim outskirts of the presence of the Eternal."

I was much impressed by this solemn and vivid word-picture of the Last Day when I first read it, twenty seven years ago, and I am no less so today. He had from the first a rare power of painting in words, whether he chose prose or poetry to work with, and his feeling was his own. It came unborrowed and unbidden. Of course, his thoughts were not always of a serious kind. He loved fun as well as any of us, in his quiet way, and was ready at joke and banter, cutting deep sometimes, but never ill-naturedly. It was not a merry crowd, however, that he loved best; but quiet companionship with chosen friends.

College life he took in a leisurely way, valuing it for what it brought as well as for what it was. He read more of what was not required of us than that which was, and the honors he took, whether at the hands of the Faculty or of the students, were such as go with general literary and oratorical power, rather than scholarship. He was not one of those who are always in a hurry. The drift of his mind was something like that brought before us in his lines:

"Still move the clouds, like great calm thoughts away,
Nor haste, nor stay."

Two men in our class were very much to each other—Sill and Shearer. It was a deep grief to Sill when they were parted by Shearer's early death in 1869. He could hardly speak of it. The friends of both can think of them now as met again, perhaps, in some great order of things, where characters have time to ripen and opportunities to hold as well as seize; or rather where "time shall be no more," and opportunity has no limits.

Yours sincerely,

New Haven, April 5th, 1887. SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

This letter was written by a college friend who shared with Sill the intimacy of membership in the oldest Senior society. Like most poets, he did not make any mark as a scholar during his undergraduate days. At the end of his Freshman year the Faculty voted that "E. R. Sill (61) for neglecting his studies shall be removed from College."[1] He was away over a year, being readmitted only with the understanding that "he must be perfectly regular."[2] This he seems to have been on his return, although his final average standing for the course was only 2.34 on a scale of 4.

Sill was loved and respected in college by all who knew him, but he had only a few close friends. Of these his Junior year room-

[1] MS. Faculty Records for June 9, 1858.
[2] *Ibid.*, December 1, 1858. Cf. also October 12, 1859.

mate, Shearer, was the most intimate. Their room in Connecticut Hall, now No. 79 in the third floor, south entry, was the center of a group of men marked by much literary culture.[3] Here wit was ready and conversation of the best. He wrote three songs for the Junior Exhibition, and the *Yale Literary Magazine* produced several of his essays and poems during the latter part of his course, but the *Atlantic* refused the only verses that he sent to any outside publication. Sill's work for the "Lit." showed his versatility. It included several poems such as "Dream-Doomed," "Music," and "Midnight," a leader entitled "Beardless," an attempted justification of the free and noble instincts of youth as distinguished from reason, an interesting discussion of "Failure," with special reference to college life, and his Townsend Premium essay on "Faith in Moral Truth essential to the highest achievements of Genius." That he selected this subject when the "Legends of Greece" and "The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge" were also available themes, and would yield themselves specially well to literary treatment, was significant of his spiritual ideals and interests at the time. Another was awarded the De Forest Medal, but the "Lit.," commenting on the competition, states that "the beautiful poetic piece of Mr. Sill was warmly applauded."[4]

He was a great reader, browsing much in the College Library, but devoting relatively little attention to the studies of the fixed curriculum. These were too perfunctory to suit his temperament. His literary talent, charming personality, pure character, and rare capacity for a few deep friendships, seem to have been the things for which he was most marked in the eyes of his classmates.[5] The purely literary side was naturally the more congenial to him, but we find him debating in Linonia, and carrying off a second prize for his Senior year debate on "Is suicide ever justifiable?"

[3] There was a poet of considerable promise in the class below Sill—Robert K. Weeks (B.A. 1862). He died young, after publishing three volumes of his verse.

[4] *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, p. 332.

[5] For an interesting account of Sill as an undergraduate, see an article by Edwin Oviatt (B.A. 1896) in the *New York Evening Post*, February, 1901.

His Valedictory, as Poet of 1861, was long considered the best class poem that had been delivered at Yale. It is a noble appeal to "go forth and live," strengthened by "the breath of God within." Its quality may be judged by the opening stanzas:

1.

Four years!
Four waves of that wide sea which rings the world
Broken upon the shore, eternity.
Upon whose crests, like waifs tossed by the tide,
We neared, touched, floated side by side, and now
Sad is their murmur on the shadowy sand,
And sad our parting as we drift away.

2.

Four years!
Fled like the phantoms of a morning dream—
A strange, fair dream, and now the sun has risen,
And the day's work begun. Yet blame us not
If, while we gird ourselves, we linger still
Wistfully musing over what we dreamed.

O hours of Yale—vanished hours!
  Memory, sorrowfully singing,
  Makes a far-off sound, like ringing
    Of a chime of silver bells,
    Whose soft music sinks and swells,
Breathed upon by breath of flowers;
  Fainter, sweeter fragrance bringing
    Than from odorous island-dells,
Kissed all night by summer showers.[6]

The *Yale Literary Magazine* of the time appreciated the rare beauty of this poem for an undergraduate effort. "It exhibited," so runs the review, "unmistakable marks of natural poetic genius, such as rarely blooms within these dingy quarters."[7]

Sill delivered the Phi Beta Kappa poem at Yale in 1869—*The Clocks of Gnoster Town*—and wrote several other poems for class gatherings. The one for Triennial was sung, with the customary

[6] *Valedictory Poem and Oration, Class of 1861*, p. 5.
[7] *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

enthusiasm of the first reunion, to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne.* It begins:

As flowers return when winter's o'er,
  As swallows homeward sail,
As wanderers to their father's door,
  So we come back to Yale.

So we come back to Yale, my boys,
  So we come back to Yale;
As pilgrims come to seek their home,
  So we come back to Yale.[8]

His health was poor when he graduated, as it was generally through his life, so he took the long sea journey to California, with his classmate Shearer, and spent several years there. He returned East in 1867, married, studied theology at Harvard, where he wrote the beautiful hymn, "Send down thy Truth, O God," and later engaged in newspaper and literary work in New York City. Then came several years of school teaching in Ohio and New York, the principalship of the Oakland, California, High School, and election to the professorship of English in the University of California. Here Sill "found" himself. He became a power as a teacher and interpreter of English literature, and as an advocate of higher academic education in the state. His students found his enthusiasm for his chosen field of study contagious, and were stimulated by him to do and be their best. After eight years of fruitful work, he left Berkeley, where he was deeply beloved, to return to his wife's home, Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio. There he engaged in literary pursuits. His best known works are *The Hermitage and other Poems,* 1868, and *The Venus of Milo and other Poems,* 1883. The single poem which is the most often quoted is the "Fool's Prayer." This has become especially well known through the use made of it by Professor Royce, one of the poet's greatest admirers, in his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy,* but "A Morning Thought" is equally beautiful. Here are the first and last stanzas:

[8] *Triennial Meeting of the Class of Sixty-One,* p. 10.

What if some morning, when the stars were paling,
And the dawn whitened, and the east was clear,
Strange peace and rest fell on me from the presence
Of a benignant spirit standing near;

* * * * * * *

And what if then, while the still morning brightened,
And freshened in the elm the summer's breath,
Should gravely smile on me the gentle angel,
And take my hand and say, "My name is Death"?

An evidence of the growing interest in Sill and appreciation of his power, is the fact that the Houghton, Mifflin Company have recently (1906) published a complete collection of his poems with a memoir prefixed. Sill was apart from the general literary current of America. He lived in the far West and was not identified with the group of writers which made the third quarter of the century so brilliant in the history of our literature. Yet true lovers of poetry find much in his verse to admire. His fame is growing rather than decreasing with the years, and there is a feeling, shared by many competent critics, that had he lived a few years longer he would have produced work of the highest merit. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps wrote: "When he left us, we knew we had a new poet. . . . . His beautiful work was a prophecy. . . . . Had he lived to do his best, Sill might have been called the American Shelley."[9] Professor Dexter, who was his classmate at Yale, ended the sketch of his life in the *Obituary Record* with these words: "As poet and critic he had fulfilled the promise of his early years, and his premature death is a public loss; to those who knew him personally he was also the most delightful of companions and the truest of friends." He was a man of singular charm and of marked pureness of character. It can be said of him, as he said of others in an undergraduate essay: "It makes one proud of his birth-right, to look back and see what men have gone up to heaven from our earth!"[10]

[9] *Century Magazine* for 1888, quoted in the *Supplement to the Twenty-five years' record of the Class of 1861.* See pp. 57-60.

[10] *Yale Literary Magazine,* Vol. XXVI, p. 347.

A biography of Sill is in course of preparation by William B. Parker, who edited his collected poems. *A Memorial of Edward Rowland Sill,* privately printed by the Berkeley Club, and a brief memoir prefixed to the Houghton, Mifflin edition of his poems, referred to above, may be consulted.

Cuy Falls Mch 24. 86
Wednesday

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

Will you forgive me for quoting your war-cry of the "orphaned avalanche," in the Contributors' Club of the April Atlantic? In the first scrap on "Crazy-Quilt memory." And while you are in that vicinity may be you'll look at the first Club scrappies—on "Dictionaries"—& the last, on "Wires Down"—of which also I am very guilty. I hope you will approve of the philology in the "Dictionary" thing. There is nothing like being accurate about such important matters.

Now is your time to go to Europe, just after the sinking of a steamer. They will keep a bright lookout at every washhead for some months now—especially on the Cunarders. Better take the opportunity. I wish I could.

How does Holden wear? I s'pose he'll now live on Mt. Hamilton & watch Berkeley affairs thro the big telescope. Why not? How large wd an average Faculty meeting look at that distance under the highest power of the instrument?

We hope to have the glass turned on us the first time you folks any of you go { up / down } to the Observatory. I presume it will be so arranged as to look around a corner—to wit, the bulge of the earth?

Yours ever
E. R. Sill

Dr. Martin Kellogg, to whom this letter was addressed, was at the time Professor of the Latin Language and Literature at the University of California. He was graduated from Yale in 1850, and showed his loyalty by a most generous bequest to its classical funds. Professor Holden, the well-known astronomer to whom Sill refers, was at the time of writing acting as President of the university, a post later held by Dr. Kellogg. The letter shows Sill's humor and lightness of touch.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

John Pierpont (Class of 1804), Born, 1785; Died, 1866.

Pierpont had a varied career as teacher, lawyer, business man, author of text books, pastor, temperance reformer, candidate of the Liberal Party for Governor of Massachusetts, and of the Free-Soilers for Congress, chaplain in the Union Army, and official of the Treasury Department in Washington. But his major talent was in poetry. His *Airs of Palestine*, *Warren's Address at the Battle of Bunker Hill*, and *Anti-Slavery Poems* are perhaps his best known works. He delivered a poem on Progress at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College, as well as the Phi Beta Kappa poem, in 1852, on The Life of the Scholar. He had an ardent, impulsive spirit which made him the advocate of many unpopular causes. His gravestone commemorates him as "Poet, Patriot, Preacher, Philosopher, Philanthropist."

The autograph note has reference to a lecture appointment in Lowell in 1856.

James Abraham Hillhouse (Class of 1808), Born, 1789; Died, 1841.

Hillhouse was an unusually cultivated man. Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, who met him in Europe, spoke of him "as the most accomplished young man with whom he was acquainted." He was the son of Hon. James Hillhouse (B.A. 1773), a public-spirited citizen of New Haven, to whom the city is indebted for Hillhouse Avenue and for many other improvements. The son had a considerable reputation as a man of letters. His poems included *The Judgment, a Vision*—an early Yale Phi Beta Kappa poem, *Percy's Masque*, and *Hadad*. Fitz-Greene Halleck, in his lines "To the Recorder," refers to him:

> Hillhouse, whose music, like his themes,
> Lifts earth to heaven—whose poet dreams
> Are pure and holy as the hymn
> Echoed from harps of seraphim.

The elevated strain and the finished style of his poetry gained him high praise from critics both at home and abroad.

A signed quotation from one of his poems is added, beginning:

Absalom—Methought I stood again, at dead of night,
In that rich sepulchre, viewing alone
The wonders of the place. . . . .

This is dated "Sachem's Wood (N. Haven) 7th Nov. 1838." He spent much of his life in this family mansion still standing at the head of Hillhouse Avenue.

AUGUSTUS BALDWIN LONGSTREET (Class of 1813), Born, 1790; Died, 1870.

President Dabney of the University of Tennessee, responding for the South to the addresses of welcome at the Bicentennial, referred to Longstreet as having done "a gigantic work for Southern education." He was in turn President of four colleges: Emory College, Centenary College of Louisiana, the University of Mississippi, and South Carolina College. He was also well known as a lawyer and as a preacher, but his title to fame rests mainly on *Georgia Scenes, Characters, Incidents, etc., in the First Half Century of the Republic, by a Native Georgian.* These are classics of their kind. In their broad humor and their truthful delineations of early Southern types, they were the forerunners of the stories by Joel Chandler Harris and others. It is interesting to note that these sketches were originally planned when Longstreet was a student at Yale. In his letter to his classmates at their thirtieth reunion, he wrote that "they were projected in Judge Ingersoll's parlor in New Haven."[1] When Yale, at the special request of Calhoun,[2] conferred upon him, in 1841, the degree of Doctor of Laws, President Day wrote to him that "this College aims to make a selection of men of such distinguished merit as will *confer* honor rather than receive it by having their names enrolled in the list of its favorites."[3] Longstreet's devotion to the College was deep and genuine. "No graduate of Yale ever left her halls with a warmer love for every member of the Faculty than I had. . . . . but the one that I admired most of all was Benjamin Silliman."[4]

Autograph letters of Judge Longstreet are exceedingly hard to find, as most of his papers were destroyed by fire after being transferred to his literary executor. The specimen in the collection was written to the eminent Catholic divine, Bishop Spalding, October 27, 1858, when Longstreet was President of the University of Mississippi. It breathes a broad and tolerant spirit: "I am an honest enquirer after truth upon all subjects, and therefore ready to give everyone a candid hearing in defense of his religious faith, or in opposition to mine. Verily, kind sir, we have fallen upon strange times. I supposed that

[1] Record of the *Meeting of the Class of 1813, on the 16th and 17th of August, 1843*, p. 10.
[2] See his letter to President Day in Yale Library.
[3] Fitzgerald, *Judge Longstreet. A Life Sketch*, p. 200.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

history and observation had prepared me for every monstrosity, moral or political, that human nature could conjure up; but I confess that this know Nothingism took me completely by surprise."

RAY PALMER (Class of 1830), Born, 1808; Died, 1887.

Dr. Palmer was a well-known New England Congregational minister and writer on religious subjects. His ministry was mainly spent in Bath, Maine, and Albany, New York, in each of which he served as a pastor for fifteen years, resigning the latter position to become Secretary of the American Congregational Union. His hymns made him famous. His *Complete Poetical Works* were published in 1876. The letter in the collection is addressed to Rev. Walter Alexander and was written in 1869. It transcribes two verses of the author's best known work, "My Faith looks up to Thee," with these words by way of introduction: "I suppose that this hymn has found a response in so many Christian hearts because it expresses that act of simple trust in the Atoning Lamb, which is the most central thing in the Christian Life." The hymn was written the year after his graduation, while teaching in New York, but was not published until later. It has been sung around the world, translations into over twenty languages having been reported a quarter of a century ago.

SYLVESTER JUDD (Class of 1836), Born, 1813; Died, 1853.

He was a Unitarian minister of great moral earnestness and literary gifts. His one remarkable novel was designed to promote the cause of liberal Christianity, especially on its humanitarian side. Its full title was *Margaret, a Tale of the Real and Ideal, including Sketches of a Place not before described, called Mons Christi.* This appeared first in 1845, and was followed by a revised edition, and an edition illustrated by Darley. It breathes the best spirit of New England life, and has received high commendation, especially for its descriptions of nature. Judd's undergraduate course was marked by intellectual distinction and religious consecration. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, won the Berkeley Latin Prize in Sophomore year, and prizes for English Composition in Junior and Senior years. He contributed a single piece to the "Lit."—on "Truth," and delivered Orations both at the Junior Exhibition and at Commencement. At the close of his Senior year he wrote:

I have this day, this hour, finished my college-course. I need not, and I could not if I should attempt it, describe to you my emotions. 'Tis certainly a pleasant

thought, that fatigue and hard study are over, at least for the present. But this is a small consideration. The questions recur, What have I accomplished? How am I able to meet the responsibilities that now rest upon me? Am I better? I am perhaps a little wiser; but am I *better*? I dare not answer. 'Tis painful to part with class-mates.[5]

Some account of his college life will be found in the biography of Chief Justice Waite (q.v.).

The autograph in the collection is part of a personal letter ending:

Dont you think Ministers had better let Politics alone
I am truly and un"woundedly"
Your Friend
SYLVESTER JUDD JR.

CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED (Class of 1839), Born, 1820; Died, 1874.

After graduating at New Haven with high honors and with considerable reputation from his articles in the *Yale Literary Magazine*, Bristed had a brilliant career at Trinity College, Cambridge. This gave him the experiences for his well-known *Five Years in an English University*, which was dedicated to President Woolsey. He was a man of the world, of broad culture and ripe scholarship. His sketches and essays, generally written in a piquant and somewhat cynical tone, were a distinct contribution to the literature of the period. The Bristed Scholarship in the College, which he established in 1848, perpetuates his name and his belief in the old-time classical training.

The brief letter reads as follows: "Very sorry to refuse you, but I know by sad experience that such duties are *not* nominal, having been laid up two days by my exertions at the opening of the Sanitary Fair. You must recollect I am an invalid & cannot undergo any personal fatigue with impunity."

FRANCIS MILES FINCH (Class of 1849), Born, 1827; Died, 18??.

Judge Finch was noted as an undergraduate for his literary ability. He was Class Poet, an editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine*, and one of the Townsend Prize speakers. Both before and after graduation he wrote many college poems and songs that long maintained their popularity. Among these were "Gather ye Smiles" and "The Smoking Song." His well-known lines on Nathan Hale were delivered at the centenary of Linonia, in 1853. In 1867 "The Blue and the Gray" appeared in the *Atlantic Magazine*, and it is upon

[5] Hall, *Life and Character of Sylvester Judd*, p. 67.

this poem that his reputation mainly rests. Professor Beers says of it that "It was one of the inspirations that come to a man once in a life-time. It spoke the right word at the right time, and spoke it with beauty, simplicity and force."[6] One of its stanzas is preserved in the autograph in Memorial Hall:

These, in the robings of glory,
Those, in the gloom of defeat;
All, with the battle blood gory,
In the dusk of Eternity meet:—
Under the sod, and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day:—
Under the laurel, the Blue,
Under the willow, the Gray.

Judge Finch was intimately connected with the development of Cornell University and was for several years Dean of its Faculty of Law. From 1880 to 1896 he was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New York State.

EUGENE SCHUYLER (Class of 1859), Born, 1840; Died, 1890.

He won a High Oration at the Junior Exhibition, and belonged to the oldest of the Senior societies. The breadth of his early interests is shown by his membership both in the Yale Natural History Society and in the Foreign Missionary Society. He spent fifteen of the best years of his life in the consular and diplomatic service of the Government, holding important posts, especially in Eastern Europe. He was an unsparing critic of the haphazard methods of the American Department of State, and did much to create public opinion in favor of reform in appointments and tenure of office. He was, however, essentially, a literary man, one of his most delightful volumes being entitled *Italian Influences*. He translated much from the Russian, including Turgénieff's *Fathers and Sons* and Tolstoi's *The Cossacks*. His best known works are *Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkestan*, etc., *Peter the Great*, and *American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce*. He was a man of charming personality and broad culture.

The letter was written from Petershoff in 1870. Its references to Commencement and to New Haven people show that he had a warm spot in his heart for Yale. It ends with this reference to the Franco-Prussian War:

There is no knowing when you will get this letter. I suppose of course the Prussians will read it as it passes through Berlin. I will therefore state for their edification, that though the Emperor is well disposed to them, the Russians in general hate them, and that the general feeling here, when not indifferent, is decidedly French. The newspapers are all so.

[6] *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Vol. XVIII, p. 880.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL LEADERS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

The University's main contribution to education has been the impress it has made upon the minds and characters of its graduates. Our United States would be a very different place today were it not for the leaven of that measure of wisdom and of culture which historic universities have been trying to supply for over two centuries. But considerable as this influence has been on the majority of graduates, it cannot be accurately measured. The field—about twenty-eight thousand men—is too broad. The best we can do is to select the leaders of education and to try to find what the University meant to them, and how it affected their lives. This is indeed the general policy adopted in these volumes—the tracing of an institution's influence by a study of the biographies of its most representative men. There are a few Yale names of greater distinction in other fields, but no other American school of higher learning has, through a long history, contributed more regularly to the production of able men of high purpose who have founded and conducted the colleges scattered throughout the land.[1] This zeal for education is part of Yale's inheritance from her founders, to whom preaching and teaching, the church and the school, were merely two sides of the same shield. It is this condition that is responsible for the term Christian College, a type of institution which the University at New Haven has done much to perpetuate. That it is not an outworn ideal is shown by its adoption for the recently founded Yale Mission College in China.

When William L. Kingsley's *Yale College* was published, in 1879, a chapter was included entitled "Yale, the Mother of Colleges."

[1] See *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. LIX, p. 302.

Although the phrase probably antedates that time, it has since then come into more common use. Of its justification there can be no doubt. The Quinquennial Catalogue of 1910 shows one hundred and fifty-seven graduates who have been college presidents. The list includes most American educational institutions of the highest standing, representing an unbroken succession from the earliest days to the present. But more striking is the fact that Yale men have been the earliest presidents of many, we might almost say of the majority, of our most representative colleges, while some of them, like Harper at Chicago, Gilman at Johns Hopkins, and White at Cornell, have really molded the life of their institutions. A list[2] of the more important colleges, with the dates of foundation and the names and classes of first presidents, follows. It is of special significance in view of the unusual influence of American college presidents, not only in education but in the creation of an enlightened public opinion on other matters.

Institution	*Name*	*Yale Class*	*Date of Accession*
College of New Jersey (Princeton)	Jonathan Dickinson	1706	1747
King's (Columbia) College	Samuel Johnson	1714	1754
Dartmouth College	Eleazar Wheelock	1733	1769
Williams College	Ebenezer Fitch	1777	1793
University of Georgia	Abraham Baldwin	1772	1801
Hamilton College	Azel Backus	1787	1812
Kenyon College	David B. Douglass	1813	1825
Illinois College	Edward Beecher	1822	1830
Wabash College	Elihu W. Baldwin	1812	1833
University of Missouri	John H. Lathrop	1819	1840
University of Mississippi	Augustus B. Longstreet	1813	1848
University of Wisconsin	John H. Lathrop	1819	1849
Beloit College	Aaron L. Chapin	1837	1850
Cornell University	Andrew D. White	1853	1866
University of California	Henry Durant	1827	1870
Johns Hopkins University	Daniel C. Gilman	1852	1875
Tulane University	William Preston Johnston	1852	1884
University of Chicago[3]	William R. Harper	1875 (Ph.D.)	1891

The list is noteworthy for its inclusion both of state and of privately endowed universities. Other graduates, such as Cyrus

[2] Cf. Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, p. 412.

[3] John C. Burroughs (B.A. 1842), was the first president of the earlier Chicago University, 1859.

Northrop (B.A. 1857) of the University of Minnesota, have been the most important single factors in developing representative institutions, although not the first to hold the President's chair. Still others have been the real founders of universities, such as Manasseh Cutler of Ohio University, the oldest college in the Northwest Territory, while several institutions, such as Western Reserve, were modeled on Yale principles. It is therefore possible in the following pages containing the lives of the most distinguished of these leaders, to trace the Yale inheritance, and to some extent the Yale type, as it has gone through the country. The direct influence of our alumni in this way, especially in the development of the Western states, has been very large.[4] It is exceeded by no other contribution which the University has made to national life, and has not been equaled in the same field.

A second contribution of note has been in educational pioneering. This has been in field rather than in method, although it includes both. Our Alma Mater has such a reputation for conservatism, in comparison with the University at Cambridge, that it will occasion surprise in some quarters to know that Yale as an institution, or Yale men as individuals, are largely responsible for originating the following American movements, in addition to the starting of scores of colleges:

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS LED BY YALE AS A UNIVERSITY

Establishment of a college with the explicit purpose of fitting men for "publick service" (see Brewer, Vol. II, pp. 285, 286).

System of competitive scholarships (see Wheelock, Vol. I, p. 208).

Teaching of Modern Science (see Silliman, Vol. II, pp. 19-21, and Sheffield Scientific School, Vol. II, p. 2).

Teaching of Scientific Agriculture (see Johnson, Vol. II, pp. 58-61).

Establishment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (see Woolsey, Vol. I, p. 242).

Principle of Faculty responsibility for nominations to the teaching staff (see Dwight, Vol. I, p. 223).

Group System of undergraduate studies (see Sheffield Scientific School, Vol. II, p. 3).

[4] Cf. *Yale Bicentennial Celebration.* Address by President Northrop on "Yale and the Development of the Country," pp. 306-309.

School of the Fine Arts as integral and separately organized Department of a University (see Vol. II, p. 94).

Alumni representation by election on highest governing body (see Woolsey, Vol. I, p. 242).

The formal teaching of certain new branches of study, such as Physiological Chemistry preparatory to Medicine (see Vol. II, p. 3), and Foreign Missions (see Vol. I, p. 17).

University School of Forestry[5] (see Vol. II, p. 4).

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS LED BY GRADUATES AS INDIVIDUALS

Education of the Indian (see Sergeant, Vol. I, p. 102, and Wheelock, Vol. I, pp. 210, 211).

Education of Women (see Dwight, Vol. I, p. 221).

Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb (see Gallaudet, Vol. I, pp. 231, 232).

The standardizing of the English Language in America (see Webster, Vol. I, pp. 317-319, Worcester, Vol. I, pp. 326, 327, and Vol. I, p. 296).

Agricultural Experiment Stations (see Johnson, Vol. II, pp. 59, 60).

National Department of Education (see Barnard, Vol. I, p. 259).

United States Geological Survey (see King, Vol. II, pp. 79, 80).

European Standards of Medical Education (see Gilman, Vol. I, p. 270, also Vol. II, p. 83).

Many modern Educational and Social Reform Movements,[6] such as Religious Education Association (see Harper, Vol. I, p. 284).

Founding of important journals such as the *American Journal of Science* (see Silliman, Vol. II, p. 21), and *American Journal of Education* (see Barnard, Vol. I, pp. 259, 260).

These lists, although merely suggestive, are sufficient to show that Yale's "conservatism" has not been of the hide-bound variety. But her achievement in educational pioneering has probably not been so great as that of Harvard University, and should not be allowed to divert our minds from the main conclusion of this chapter—that the University's greatest single contribution to education, outside of her own regular work, has been through the colleges founded and developed under her wise leadership. In estimating the resulting

[5] The Cornell experiment was started two years earlier, in 1898, but the Yale Forestry School has had the longest continuous history, and has held the undisputed leadership in its field.

[6] Among those in which living graduates have taken a leading part are: Forestry and Conservation, Gifford Pinchot (B.A. 1889); Public Health, Irving Fisher (B.A. 1888); University Settlements, James B. Reynolds (B.A. 1884); Charity Organization, Robert W. De Forest (B.A. 1870); Mental Hygiene, Clifford W. Beers (Ph.B. 1897); Labor Legislation, Henry W. Farnam (B.A. 1874), etc.

influence, the words of a Western university President, spoken at the Bicentennial, may be recorded: "Most of the Yale men who have engaged in the work of education have had on them, all their lives, the stamp of Yale College, and have cherished the Yale ideas and have followed the Yale methods."[7]

A similar statement might also be made of the University's influence on educational institutions in foreign lands. Its most striking manifestation is in the Yale Mission College in Changsha, China, where graduates are attempting to adjust Yale ideals to the needs of an Oriental people.

[7] President Northrop. *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 303.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

Jonathan Dickinson

Class of 1706

Born, April 22, 1688; Died, October 7, 1747

First President of Princeton College

Jonathan Dickinson stands at the head of the long line of eminent Yalensians who have been the first presidents of representative colleges. He was born in Hatfield, Massachusetts, where his father was engaged in trade. Of his college course we know little. It was mainly passed at Killingworth (now Clinton), in the house of Rector Pierson. President Stiles, in 1779, wrote in his diary this account of the place, where, a century later,[1] friends of the College erected a stone memorial:

> I viewed the Remnant of the Building in Killingworth about ten rods East of the Meeting house, commonly called the *old or first College*, being Rector Pierson's House, in which he lived and the scholars resided and studied the first five years till his Death. It was a double two-story house now converted into a Barn.[2]

Such were the modest beginnings of Yale University, then known as the "Collegiate School within his Maj^{ties} Colony of Connecticot," but destined to receive the Yale name twelve years after Dickinson's graduation. The students were not over twenty in number. The Faculty consisted of the Rector and a single tutor. The latter, "Sir Hart," was the second graduate of the College. He began his education at Harvard, so, fortunately, had some collegiate ideals, as the institution at Cambridge had already a history of half a century. Rector Pierson, whose statue is on the College Campus, and after whom the Pierson-Sage Square is named, received about £66 a year, the tutor about £33. The course of study probably included only three years.[3] It consisted of the three learned tongues, physics

[1] June 17, 1868.
[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 28.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 18.

(studied from the Rector's notes which may still be seen in the Yale Library), metaphysics, and mathematics, with theology and rhetoric as weekly subjects of study in every class.[4] That religious instruction played a large part in Dickinson's college training is shown by the following fundamental rules adopted in 1701 at the first meeting of the Trustees after securing their charter:

1st, That the Rector take special Care, as of the moral Behaviour of the Students at all Times, so with Industry, to instruct and ground them well in Theoretical Divinity; and, to that End, shall neither by himself, nor by any other Person whomsoever, allow them to be instructed and grounded in any *other System or Synopsis of Divinity,* than such as the said Trustees do order and appoint: But shall take effectual Care that the said Students be weekly (at such Seasons as he shall see Cause to appoint) caused memoriter to recite the Assembly's Catechism in Latin and *Ames's* Theological Theses, of which, as also *Ames's Cases of Conscience,* he shall make, or cause to be made, from Time to Time, such Explanations as may (through the Blessing of God) be most conducive to their Establishment in the Principles of the Christian Protestant Religion.

2dly, The Rector shall also cause the Scripture daily (except on the Sabbath) Morning and Evening, to be read by the Students at the Times of Prayer in the School, according to the laudable Order and Usage of *Harvard College,* making Expositions upon the same: And upon the Sabbath, shall either Expound practical Theology, or cause the non-graduated Students to repeat Sermons: And in all other Ways according to his best Discretion, shall at all Times studiously endeavour in the Education of the Students, to *promote the Power and purity of Religion and the best Edification of these* New England Churches.[5]

Discipline was attempted by means of a system of fines "for the preventing of irreligion, idleness and other immoralities." The Commencement of the class was held in Saybrook, nine miles from Killingworth, as the former was considered the nominal home of the Collegiate School for the fifteen years prior to its removal to New Haven. Only three men received degrees, but of these, two—Dickinson and Jared Eliot (q.v.)—attained distinction. The former's life was a most active one, and led to his becoming eminent in his day in the fields of theology, pulpit eloquence, and education, in addition to gaining local repute as a physician. His services to the

[4] Dexter, "Yale College in Saybrook," *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers,* Vol. VII.

[5] Clap, *Annals,* pp. 10, 11.

cause of religion were notable. He was a man of liberal views in the Presbyterian Church, and successfully opposed the requirement of a rigid formal assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism on the part of all ministers and ministerial candidates.[6] He supported Whitefield, at the same time using all of his influence to prevent excesses from revivals. He was also an earnest advocate of mission work among the Indians, being one of David Brainerd's (q.v.) strongest supporters.

In the field of theological writing, the eminent Scotch divine, Rev. John Erskine, classed him with Edwards, and stated that "the British Isles had produced no such writers on divinity in the eighteenth century."[7] With this estimate the author of the *Annals of the American Pulpit* (Rev. William B. Sprague, B.A. 1815) was in agreement. Dickinson's defense of Presbyterian ordination was considered especially valuable. But his main title to remembrance is that he took the lead in establishing the College of New Jersey, and is, consequently, always considered the first President of Princeton. It is strange that no copy of the original charter of the college is known to exist,[8] but the names of the four most prominent of the first Trustees—the men who started the institution—have been handed down: Jonathan Dickinson, John Pierson (B.A. 1711), Ebenezer Pemberton, and Aaron Burr (q.v.). Dickinson's name always leads the list. As Yale was indebted to Harvard for her founders and early rectors, so Princeton was indebted to Yale, which supplied her with her first three Presidents and with a majority of her first known Trustees. It is also probable that religious differences at New Haven had some effect on the starting of the new institution.[9] The college was opened in Dickinson's house in

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, pp. 46, 47.
[7] Tyler, *History of American Literature*, Vol. II, p. 217.
[8] Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 70.
[9] *Esther Burr's Journal*, p. 26, contains under date of September 14, 1743, this reference to the influence of the Brainerd incident on the founding of Princeton: "Mr. Brainerd was expelled from the College, for saying of one of the tutors who seemed indifferent to religious activity,—when Mr. Whitefield was preaching in New Haven, and the students were generally giving much attention to his word,—that he had no more religion than a chair. I can see that my father thinks that he spake unadvisedly, and should make amends for it,—as he was willing

Elizabethtown, in May, 1747, seven months after the obtaining of the charter, and was not moved to Princeton until a decade later. The assistance of a single tutor made it possible for him to continue his local pastoral duties.

The following contemporary notice of his death appeared in the *New York Weekly Post Boy:*

On Wednesday morning last, about four o'clock, died here, of a pleuritic illness, that eminently learned and pious minister of the Gospel and President of the College of New Jersey, the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, in the sixtieth year of his age, who had been Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in this Town for nearly forty years, and was the Glory and Joy of it. In him conspicuously appeared those natural and acquired moral and spiritual Endowments which constitute a truly excellent and valuable man, a good Scholar, and eminent Divine, and a serious devout Christian. He was greatly adorned with the gifts and graces of the Heavenly Master, in the Light whereof he appeared as a star of superior Brightness and Influence in the Orb of the Church, which has sustained a great and unspeakable Loss in his Death. He was of uncommon and of very extensive usefulness. He boldly appeared in the Defense of the great and important Truths of our most holy Religion, and the Gospel Doctrines of the free and sovereign Grace of God. He was a zealous Professor of godly Practice and godly Living, and a bright ornament to his Profession. In Times and cases of Difficulty he was a wise and able Counsellor. By his death our Infant College is deprived of the Benefit and Advantage of his superior Accomplishments, which afforded a favorable prospect of its future Flourishing and Prosperity under his Inspection. His remains were decently interred here yesterday, when the Rev. Mr. Pierson, of Woodbridge, preached his funeral sermon; and as he lived desired of all, so never any Person in these Parts died more lamented. Our Fathers, where are they? and the Prophets, do they live forever?[10]

Dickinson Hall at Princeton was named in his honor. There is no memorial at Yale. His grave at Elizabethtown bears a long inscription, including a poetic tribute to his memory beginning:

Deep was the wound, O Death! and vastly wide,
When he resigned his Useful breath and dy'ed;
Ye Sacred Tribe with pious Sorrows mourn,
And drop a tear at your great Patrons Urn![11]

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most humbly to do,—but, that he very likely spoke the truth. Being a graduate of that College, my father has been greatly burdened at the irreligion and wickedness prevailing there; and he is already in conference with Rev. Burr of Newark as to founding a college, perhaps, in the Jerseys, where young men can be safe from such influences."

[10] Quoted from Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 125.

[11] Hageman, *Princeton and its Institutions*, Vol. II, p. 423.

Know all Men by these Psents that I, Richard Scudder of Elizabeth Town in the County of Essex and Provine of New Jersey Yeoman Have bargained sold and delivered unto Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth-Town aforsd a certain Negro Girl named Genny To Have and To Hold the sd Negro Girl unto him the sd Jonathan Dickinson and to his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns during her natural Life And I do hereby for my self my Heirs Executors and Administrators bargain Covenant and agree with him the sd Jonathan Dickinson and with His Heirs Executors and Administrators that I the sd Richard Scudder had at the Time of the sale of that Negro Girl a just Propriety in her & full Power to dispose of her And also that I and my Heirs will warrant and defend him the sd Jonathan Dickinson and his Heirs and Assignes in the peaceable Possession and Property of the sd Negro Girl against all manner of Persons whatsoever legally claiming a Propriety in Her as Witness my Hand and Seal this ninth Day of June one thousand seven hundred and thirty three and in the Sixth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second of Great Brittain & King &—

RICHARD SCUDDER

David Thomas
Samuel ———ton

{ Seal }

This is a bill of sale to Dickinson of a negro girl. It is entirely in his handwriting, and being dated 1733, is an early document of American slavery. It must be remembered that New Jersey was at this time a royal province and that it was not until 1772 that Chief Justice Mansfield decided that it was illegal to hold slaves in England. Unfortunately the mother country gave no encouragement at this time either to the abolition or to the restriction of the slave trade in the American colonies.[12] The document was signed in Elizabethtown, where Dickinson lived from 1709 until his death. Elizabethtown and Dickinson bear a similar relationship to the Princeton University of today as Killingworth and Abraham Pierson do to Yale University, although Pierson did not take such a leading part in the actual founding of the institution over which he was called to preside.

[12] Elson, *History of the United States*, p. 457.

Samuel Johnson

Class of 1714

Born, October 14, 1696; Died, January 6, 1772
First President of King's, now Columbia, College

Few graduates of Yale have rendered their generation more conspicuous service in the fields of education and of religion than Dr. Johnson, who was one of the most broadly cultivated New Englanders of his day. His family had long lived in Guilford, Connecticut, where both his father and grandfather were deacons of the Congregational Church, and it was there that he was born. He was a member of the Class of 1714, which graduated nine men—within one of as many as had received degrees during the four previous years, when the Colony felt the heavy strain of Queen Anne's War.

During his undergraduate course he made a reputation as an excellent scholar. His Freshman tutor, Mr. Noyes, had some knowledge of Hebrew, and, as young Johnson had time to spare from his other studies, he devoted unusual attention to this language. Most of his college work was directed by Tutor Fiske, a man for whom he always had much respect,[1] and to whom he was largely indebted for his interest in logic, metaphysics, and ethics.[2] Fortunately the curriculum of Johnson's day is known from a letter[3] written by his classmate, Benjamin Lord, to that indefatigable investigator of early college history and customs, President Stiles:

> Books of the Languages and Sciences recited in my Day were Tully and Virgil, but without any Notes: Burgersdiems and Ramus's Logick, also Heerebord's set Logic, &c.; Pierson's manuscript of Physicks, w^c^ I have no copy of. We recited the Greek Testament; knew not Homer, &c.; recited the Psalms in Hebrew; the greatest proficient in the Hebrew and in the other Languages also was D^r^. Johnson. We recited Ames' Medulla on Saturdays, and also his Cases of Conscience sometimes; the two upper classes used to dispute syllogistically twice or thrice a

[1] Chandler, *Life of Johnson*, p. 4.
[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 116.

week. . . . . As for the Mathematicks, we recited and studied but little more than the rudiments of it, some of y^e^ plainest things[4] in it.

In response to President Stiles' question as to who were the "chief orators of the time," Johnson's classmate gives this significant testimony: "Composition and Language were then scarcely enô in vogue to excite ambition where there might be a genius for it; but if any, Dr. Johnson was the man that look'd that way."[5]

The extra-curriculum influences that can be most clearly traced from his years as an undergraduate and tutor came from books, and among these the reading of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* seems to have held the foremost place. It marked an epoch in his development, both by enlarging his vision and by making him dissatisfied with his attainments. To quote his own words, he seemed, after reading it, to be "suddenly emerging out of the glimmer of twilight into the full sunshine of open day."[6] College friendships also meant much to him through life, especially that with his classmate and fellow tutor, Rev. Daniel Browne, whom he called "the best friend in the world—a fine scholar, and a brave Christian."[7]

His conception of collegiate opportunities was a broad one for his time, as is shown in a pamphlet which he prepared a generation later. Although written by a staunch churchman, it was so highly regarded as to be bound up and published anonymously with President Clap's catalogue of the Yale College Library (1743). This was *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, Exhibiting a General View of all the Arts and Sciences, for the use of Pupils. With a Catalogue of some of the most valuable Authors necessary to be read in order to instruct them in a thorough Knowledge of each of them.* "By a Gentleman Educated at Yale-College." It was fitting that Johnson should write this introduction to the first important publication regarding the Yale Library, because its resources meant as much to him as to any graduate. His first biographer, writing over

[4] This included surveying.
[5] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 116.
[6] Chandler, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 9.
[7] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 119, sketch of Browne.

a hundred years ago and with full knowledge of the facts, speaks of the "inexpressible pleasure" that Johnson experienced in reading, as a young man in New Haven, the works of the English divines and philosophers included in the shipments of nearly one thousand books to the College from England in 1714. According to his own statement: "by the bountiful and liberal Donation of Divers well spirited Gentlemen in Brittain procured by Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, Agent for this Colony, we had a very valuable and considerable Library of choice Books sent to us." The University Library still has Dummer's list of these volumes, including Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia,* Sir Richard Steele's *Tatlers* and *Spectators,* "being eleven volumes, in Royal paper neatly bound and gilt," and the works of Bentley, Whiston, and Kennet—all of these the gifts of the authors themselves.[8] This collection reached New Haven about the time of Johnson's graduation. He taught school close by, at Guilford, for two years, and then returned for three years in the tutorship. We know that the opportunities of the Library were among the greatest inducements to his accepting this position. The original records of the Corporation contain this reference to his appointment:

> Sir Johnson was desired to appear before the Trustees & the offer of a Tutor of the School was made to him, & he desired to consider of it, and then give us the Result of his thoughts, & acceptance. . . . . Sir Johnson appearing before the Trustees did accept of the place of a Tutor of the Collegiate School, whereunto he is chosen.[9]

Johnson had entire charge of the three lower classes during the first two years after the removal from Saybrook to New Haven,[10] in 1716, and there was no resident rector until several years later. He was the first tutor[11] to hold authority on the present Campus, as he was also the first person[12] to occupy the original building[13] on the site of Osborn Hall.

[8] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 141, 142.
[9] MS. Records of Yale Corporation, October 20, 1716.
[10] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 123.
[11] He was assisted by the local minister, Mr. Noyes.
[12] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 123.
[13] A contemporary account of this building is given in a letter of thanks sent by the Trustees, October 31, 1717, to Jeremiah Dummer, who had been of much service to the College

In his manuscript history, written in 1717, entitled, "Some Historical Remarks Concerning The Collegiate School of Connecticutt in New Haven now Yale-Colledge," after recounting the difficulty of securing the consent of all factions to the present location, he thus refers to the first occupation of this building known as "Yale Colledge":

> And after a months vacation the Schollars all repaired to Colledg again that had been there with the addition of 5 Frishmen, & upon the 8 of Octob[r], Mr. D. Brown (whom the Trustees had chosen to assist in Tuition of the Colledg) with myself and as many Schollars as with conveniency could first lodged in & inhabited the Colledg, four or 5 chambers being in a measure finished. . . . .[14]

In the same manuscript he gives an account of the rivalry of different places for the College and of the final decision in favor of New Haven:

> there were various towns which bid for the School:—Saybrook twelve or fourteen hundred pounds; Hartford endeavored but could make no hand of getting money, at least not so much as they could think worth the mentioning; at New Haven were fifteen or two thousand pounds gathered.[15]

So it was the citizens of her present home city who asked the College to settle in their midst. Yale was not an intruder, but an invited guest—an historical fact which should not be overlooked in connection with the perennially recurring discussions of the relations between "town" and "gown."

Johnson first entered the Congregational ministry, but in 1722 he had doubts as to the validity of his ordination. These were shared by the head of the College—Rector Cutler—and by a few others, and created astonishment in the Colony, where Congregationalism was the established polity. The excitement reached a climax when the Trustees met to hear six Yale graduates and Rector Cutler, all of whom had Episcopal tendencies, express their views. Johnson objected to the rigid Calvinism of the orthodox, disliked extempore

in England: "We are in hopes of having shortly perfected a splendid Collegiate House, which was raised on the 8th instant. We behold its fair aspect in the market-place of New Haven, mounted in an eminent place thereof, in length ten rods, in breadth twenty-one foot and near thirty foot upright, a spacious hall, and an equally spacious library, all in a little time to be splendidly completed." Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 175.

[14] MS. in Yale Library, p. 20.

[15] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

prayer, and did not feel certain that ordination outside of the Episcopate was regular. The Trustees were aghast. President Woolsey, a century and a quarter later, referring to this incident in a public address, said: "I suppose that greater alarm would scarcely be awakened now if the Theological Faculty of the College were to declare for the Church of Rome, avow their belief in transubstantiation, and pray to the Virgin Mary."[16] The Trustees held several meetings, and finally voted "in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them, to excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service as Rector of Yale-College." The ex-Rector, Johnson, and Tutor Browne, all sailed immediately for England to receive ordination at the hands of Bishops.

On returning, Johnson started, in 1724, the first Episcopal Church in Connecticut. It was at Stratford. Later he became his communion's most representative leader in New England, and the clergy of the Colony united in the request that "he might be appointed the Bishop of London's Commissary, with jurisdiction over them."[17]

Benjamin Franklin, who had consulted him freely regarding the organization of the proposed University of Pennsylvania, urged upon him to accept its presidency, but he declined. In 1754 he was installed as President of King's College, so his name heads the list of those who have filled the presidency of what is now Columbia University. The broad scope of instruction in this new foundation is thus outlined in the original "Advertisement," over Johnson's signature, in the spring of 1754:

> And, *lastly*, a serious, *virtuous*, and *industrious* Course of Life, being first provided for, it is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the Youth in the Learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring;* of *Surveying* and *Navigation*, of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry, Commerce* and *Government*, and in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and in the *Air, Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors, Stones, Mines* and *Minerals, Plants* and *Animals*, and of every Thing *useful* for the Comfort,

[16] Woolsey, *Historical Discourse*, p. 26.
[17] Chandler, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 129.

the Convenience and Elegance of Life, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things: And, finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter.[18]

Dr. Johnson should be specially remembered at Yale for the breadth of view which led him, a strong churchman, to continue, in a time of denominational distrust, his deep interest in an institution then dominated by Congregational influences. He said himself that he "had retained a great kindness for Yale College."[19] This was never more marked than in his successful efforts to secure Dean Berkeley's gifts of books and scholarships, which are among the historic heritages of the University. President Stiles refers to Johnson's services in this connection in an account of his death:

In 1729 to 1732 he was occasionally acquainted with *Dean Berkeley* then living on Rhode Island; He persuaded the Dean to believe, that *Yale College* would soon become Episcopal, and that they had received his *immaterial philosophy*. This or some other Motive influenced the Dean to make a Donation of his Rhode Island Farm 96 Acres, with a Library of about a Thousand Volumes to Yale College in 1733. This Donation was certainly secured very much through the instrumentality of Rev. Dr. Jared Eliot and Rev. Dr. Johnson. The latter in Conversation with me, 1753 when I made a funeral Oration on Bishop Berkeley, told me he himself procured it; he assumed the whole Glory to himself. Col. Updike of Newport an Episcopalian, intimately acquainted with the Transaction, told me the Bishop's Motive was the greater prospect that Yale College would become episcopal than Harvard.[20]

It was to Johnson that the good Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, forwarded the deed for his Newport property, which was to endow the scholarships. Probably as a mark of confidence in his friend, it was provided that the awards were to be made by the President and the senior Episcopal missionary in the Colony, then Johnson himself. Unfortunately the farm was leased in 1763 for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, so the income is small.[21] Dr. Johnson,

[18] *A History of Columbia University*, pp. 444, 445.

[19] From his Manuscript Autobiography, quoted in *N. H. Colony Hist. Society Papers*, Vol. I, p. 151.

[20] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 205, 206. Berkeley had originally planned to establish a college in Bermuda.

[21] Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 26.

who was greatly indebted to Berkeley for his philosophy, was broadly known for his writings. His *System of Morality* and *Compendium of Logic and Metaphysics,* commended themselves to Franklin, who printed them for use at the new university in Philadelphia. They were republished in England, where their author was so highly esteemed that Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His writings were largely responsible for introducing into America the system of philosophy known as Idealism.

The quaint inscription on his monument in Stratford bears this record to his character:

If decent dignity, and modest mien,
The cheerful heart, and countenance serene;
If pure religion and unsullied truth,
His age's solace, and his search in youth;
In charity, through all the race he ran,
Still wishing well, and doing good to man;
If learning free from pedantry and pride;
If faith and virtue walking side by side;
If well to mark his being's aim and end,
To shine through life the father and the friend;
If these ambition in thy soul can raise,
Excite thy reverence or demand thy praise,
Reader, ere yet thou quit this earthly scene,
Revere his name, and be what he has been.[22]

Dr. Johnson's life was first written by Rev. Dr. Chandler (B.A. 1745). The most complete biography is the *Life and Correspondence,* by Rev. Dr. Beardsley.

Stratford Dec^{r} 21 1741

Dear Sammy—

I received yours & am mighty glad to hear of your health and welfare, & now send you the stocking with an Hand kerchief, & enclose 40 shillings of money to enable you to pay M^{r} Day. you don't tell me how much you want for that purpose, but I hope this will be more than enough, & I must require you to be very frugal, for money is very scarce & difficult to be come at. I send these things lest the weather should not admit of your coming: otherwise Xmas

[22] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 379.

is so near that It would not have been worth the while to send them: & notwithstanding my sending them I shall hope as you say, if the weather be good to see you within 2 or 3 days.—And my Dear son, I wish to God above all things that you may find yourself in such a serious Disposition of soul, & so firmly resolved to devote your self to God in J. Christ, to live a sober religious & virtuous Life in spight of all temptations, as to be then prepared, & thence forward from time to time to ratifie, your Baptismal Engagements & make them your own free Act & Deed, from a sedate & considerate principle engaging you to live as it becomes a man & a Christian all your Days.—This you will find to be the most solid satisfaction you can have both in Life & Death.—This however I do not absolutely enjoyn, because I would have it your own deliberate & voluntary act. But I think the sooner the better, because I fear the longer you delay it the less seriousness & sedateness of Disposition towards it you will find; whereas I should hope you would experience the frequent use of this Sacrament the best preservative against the levities vanities & temptations of youth to which you are exposed.—I am indeed prodigiously greived for what you tell me of A—may God avert the mischief you fear! & may you make that wise use of it to which the poet advises.—*Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula caulum—!*—I could wish to be as little burthened at Xmas as may be, for which reason, I would not wish you to urge many to the house, but rather considering how full we are to excuse y^{r} self if many should come with you, as decently as you can.—Anthony & Natty we will find room for. Give my service to ye Rector & Tutor & tell them I beg they will give you the Liberty of 3 or 4 Days on this Occasion I pray God have you in his gracious protection, & with your Mammys Brothers & Sisters Love—to you, remain

Dear Son

Yr affectionate father

Sa. Johnson

P. S. You will excuse this poor bit of paper which I began to write on before I was aware—

To
M^{r} Samuel Johnson
Student in Yale College
at
New-Haven
with a pair of stocking to be left at M^{rs} Caners—

Such is the address on the letter which was written to William Samuel Johnson (q.v.), the distinguished member of the United

States Constitutional Convention, in his Sophomore year at Yale. The letter, after being preserved for over a century and a half in the Johnson family home at Stratford, from which it was written, was secured for the author through the kind coöperation of Mrs. William Carmalt, just prior to the transfer of the Johnson papers to the Yale University Library, in 1911.

The "Mr. Day," for whom the father sent forty shillings, was almost undoubtedly Aaron Day, the steward of the College Commons from 1739 to 1747. The Corporation had passed, in the year previous to his writing, a vote requiring attendance at Commons on the part of all students living in the College buildings,[23] and this remittance was probably to cover the cost of board for the first term.[24] Commons was then conducted in the south end[25] of the original Yale building, on the site of Osborn Hall. The records have preserved an exact copy of the bill of fare with which Mr. Day tried to satisfy the students at this time:

> For Breakfast: one loaf of bread for 4 [persons], which (the dough) shall weigh one pound.
>
> For Dinner for 4: one loaf of bread, as aforesaid; 2½ pounds of beef, veal, or mutton, or 1¾ pounds of salt pork about twice a week in the summer time; one quart of beer; two penny worth of sauce.
>
> For Supper for 4: two quarts of milk and one loaf of bread, when milk can conveniently be had; and when it cannot, then an apple-pie, which shall be made of 1¾ pounds of dough, ¼ pound hog's fat, two ounces sugar, and one peck of apples.[26]

The references in the letter to the baptismal promises, and their ratification at confirmation, is of special interest as the Johnsons were probably the strongest family of Episcopalians in Connecticut at the time. William Samuel Johnson (q.v.) was true throughout life to his father's injunctions.

[23] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 723.
[24] Cf. Clap, *Annals*, p. 85.
[25] Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 44.
[26] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 663.

Eleazar Wheelock

Class of 1733

Born, April 22, 1711; Died, April 24, 1779

Founder and first President of Dartmouth College

This sturdy educational pioneer was born in Windham, Connecticut, where his father was a farmer, of respectable New England stock. Most of what is known of his college career is given in the *Memoirs* written in 1811, by his former assistant, Rev. David McClure, D.D. (B.A. 1769):

> The Doctor being an only son, and discovering at an early age a lively genius, a taste for learning, with a very amiable and friendly disposition, was placed by his father under the best instructors, that could then be obtained. His grandfather, for whom he was named, left him a handsome legacy, for defraying the expenses of his public education. About the age of sixteen, while qualifying himself for admission to college, it pleased God to impress his mind with serious concern for his salvation. After earnest, prayerful enquiry, he was enlightened and comforted with that hope in the Saviour, which afterwards proved the animating spring of his exertions to qualify himself for usefulness, and his abundant labors to promote the best interest of mankind. He entered on his collegiate course, with a resolution to devote himself to the work of the gospel ministry. He was educated at Yale college, under the direction of the Honorable Rector Williams, who was a gentleman of eminent wisdom, learning and piety. His proficiency in study and his exemplary deportment, engaged the notice and esteem of the Rector and Instructors, and the love of the students.[1]

The Rector referred to was Rev. Elisha Williams, an admirable man, who administered the affairs of the College from 1726 to 1739. To quote from his tombstone: "Yale College flourished under his Pious, Learned, Faithful Instruction and happy Govemt."[2] The most eminent men who graduated under him, were, in addition to Wheelock, John Sergeant, Aaron Burr, Sr., Philip Livingston, and David Wooster, all of whom are referred to elsewhere in this work.

College life at this time may have been narrow, but it involved a

[1] McClure, *Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock*, p. 12.
[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 634.

strict discipline that bore good fruit. Morning prayers were at six o'clock from March tenth to the close of the summer term, and the rest of the time at sunrise. Evening chapel was between four and five. The rules required students to converse in Latin both "in their Chambers and when they are together." Punishments and fines were freely inflicted "according to ye merit of ye Crime." The course of prescribed study—as copied by a Freshman, in November, 1726—was as follows:

All undergraduates except freshmen who shall Read english into Greek, shall Read some part of ye old testament out of Hebrew into Greek In ye morning and shall turn some part of ye new testament out of ye english or lattin into ye Greek att evening att ye time of Rescitation before they begin to Recite ye originall tongues.

All undergraduates shall publickly Repeat sermons in ye hall in their Course and also batchellors and be Constantly examined on sabbaths at evening prayer.

All students shall after they have Done resciting rhetorick and ethicks on fridays recite Wolebius theology and on saturday morning they shall Rescite Ames theologie thesis in his Medulla, and on saturday evening ye Assemblies shorter Chatechism in lattin and on Sabbath Day attend ye explication of Ames's Cases of Conscience.

In ye first year after admission on ye four first Days of ye week all students shall be exercised in ye Greek and Hebrew tongues, onely beginning logick in ye morning att ye latter end of ye year unless their tutors see cause by Reason of their Ripeness in ye tongues to Read logick to them sooner; they shall spend ye second year in logick with ye exercise of themselves in ye tongues; the third year principally in phisicks: and ye fourth year in metaphisicks and mathematicks still Carrying on ye former studies: but in all Classes ye last Days of ye week are allowed perpetually for Rhetorick, oratory and Divinity and in teaching of both tongues, and Arts, and such Authors are to be used as shall be approved of by ye Rector and tutors for their especial Care is to be exercised and their Directions Attended.

All students shall observe their Courses for Disputation in ye school, batcheldors once every week except two months for ye Commencement for ye Commencers and one month afterwards for ye students, likewise all undergraduates shall Declaim once in six weeks and ye number of ye Declaimers shall be so Disposed yt in the space of six weeks all may Declaim excepting as before mentioned.

No scholar shall use ye english tongue in ye Colledge with his fellow scholars unless he be Called to publick exercise proper to be attended in ye English tongue but schollars in their Chambers and when they are together shall talk lattin.[3]

Of Wheelock's college work we know little. President Stiles, who was well acquainted with him, seems to have thought that he

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 348.

acquired little knowledge outside of "a tolerable Acquaintance with The Classics, Watts' Logic and Rohault's Philosophy,"[4] but the college authorities of the time rated his ability so high that he had the distinction of being chosen, with his future brother-in-law, Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, D.D., to share the Berkeley Scholarship,[5] established by the philosopher, Dean Berkeley. This is the oldest scholastic foundation at Yale, and it retained great prestige for over a century. It is doubtful whether any American university has had an endowment which has supported so many eminent men. The list[6] includes: President Wheelock of Dartmouth, 1733; President Burr of Princeton, 1735; Hon. Jared Ingersoll, the famous Stamp Act Agent, 1742; Senator William Samuel Johnson, President of Columbia College, 1744; Pelatiah Webster, the publicist, 1746; Presidents Daggett, 1748, and Dwight, 1769, of Yale; Silas Deane, Minister to France, 1758; Governor Treadwell, 1767; Senator and President Abraham Baldwin, 1772; Abiel Holmes, the historian, 1783; President Jeremiah Atwater, 1793; Rev. Joshua Leavitt, 1814; Charles Astor Bristed, 1839; Bishop Davies, 1853; Professor Othniel Marsh, 1860; Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, 1861—all Yale Bachelors of Arts. In view of the immediate and lasting success of this foundation, it is not surprising that Berkeley could write to the College, in 1751: "The daily increase of learning and religion in your seminary of Yale College give me very sensible pleasure and an ample recompense for my poor endeavours to further those good ends."[7]

This foundation provided the means for further study to Seniors chosen on the basis of their classical scholarship. It brought about the beginnings of formal postgraduate work at the College, and is believed to have introduced the English system of competitive examinations[8] into America. The revised deed of gift (1733) from

[4] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 338.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 534, 535.
[6] For full list up to 1865, see Gilman, "Bishop Berkeley's Gifts to Yale College," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, Vol. I, pp. 147-170.
[7] Letter among manuscripts in Yale Library.
[8] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. I, p. 246. The Palfrey Exhibition, the first strictly competitive scholarship award at Harvard, was not founded until 1821.

the eminent philosopher, soon to become Bishop of Cloyne, contains the following provisions, which are interesting as representing the first important educational endowment at Yale. The income of the Newport farm is to be given

to three students of the said college, towards their maintenance and subsistence during the time between their first and second degree; such students being to be called scholars of the house, and, during that space of time, being hereby obliged to reside, at least three quarters of each year, between their first and second degree, in the said college: and that the said students or scholars of the house, be elected on the sixth day of May, (if not on a Sunday) but if it shall happen on a Sunday, then the election to be on the day following, such election to be performed by the President or head of the college, for the time being, jointly with the senior episcopal missionary of that colony or province of Connecticut, for the time being, that is to say, he who hath been longest upon the mission in the said colony, the candidates to be publicly examined by the said President or Rector and senior missionary, two hours in the morning, in Greek, and in the afternoon, two hours in Latin, on the day of election,—all persons having free access to hear the said examination:—and it is hereby declared and intended, and it is the true intent and meaning of the said George Berkeley, that those who appear to be the best scholars on said examination, be, without favour or affection, elected;—and in case of a division of sentiment in the electors, the election to be determined by lot:—and if the senior episcopal clergyman shall not attend, then any other episcopal clergyman of said colony be intituled to elect, in course of seniority:—and if none of the episcopal clergy shall attend, then, and in such case, the election to be performed by the President or Rector of the said college for the time being:—Provided always, that whatever surplus of money shall arise during the vacancies of the said scholarships, the same to be laid out for Greek and Latin books, to be disposed of by the said electors on the said day of election to such of the undergraduate students as shall shew themselves most deserving by their compositions in the Latin tongue on a moral subject or theme proposed by the electors.

We may feel confident that the first incumbent of the "Dean's bounty" observed strictly the college rule of the time that: "Every student shall exercise himself in Reading Holy Scriptures by himself every Day y^{t} y^{e} word of Christ may Dwell in Him richly and y^{t} he may be filled with y^{e} knowledge of y^{e} will of God in all wisdom and spirituall understanding."[9]

After finishing his studies in New Haven, Wheelock entered the Congregational ministry, and became pastor of the church in Lebanon,

[9] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 347.

now Columbia, Connecticut. Here, to supplement a meager salary, he began taking boys into his home for their education. In 1743 a Christian Mohegan Indian, Samson Occom, was admitted, and during the three years of his residence proved so promising a student that Wheelock determined to open a regular school, with the purpose of training Indians as missionaries to their own people. In 1754 Moor's Indian Charity School was established. It was most successful. The young men were trained in the surroundings of a Christian home, in an English settlement, thereby differentiating the plan from the most important other early experiment in Indian education—also a Yale enterprise—the school of John Sergeant (q.v.) at Stockbridge. In a few years there were twenty-five students enrolled, among them the famous Joseph Brant. Wheelock was greatly encouraged by the results, and determined to secure adequate funds for a larger undertaking of the same character. At his suggestion, Occom and a Harvard graduate, Rev. Mr. Whitaker, went to England to solicit money. The Indian's preaching made a deep impression—in fact, created a sensation,—and twelve thousand pounds were subscribed, the King and the Earl of Dartmouth being among the most generous donors. Wheelock's plan gradually developed, until, with the support of Governor Wentworth, the charter for Dartmouth College was secured in 1770, and the Indian boys walked all the way to Hanover, New Hampshire, from Lebanon, Connecticut—a distance of over one hundred miles. The sturdy beginnings of the new college are described by an eyewitness:

> Upon a circular area of about six acres, the pines were soon felled, and in all directions covered the ground to the height of about five feet. Paths of communication were cut through them. The lofty tops of the surrounding forests were often seen bending before the northern tempest, while the air below was still and piercing. The snow lay four feet in depth, between four and five months. The sun was invisible by reason of the trees, until risen many degrees above the horizon. In this secluded retreat, and in these humble dwellings, this enterprising colony passed a long and dreary winter. The students pursued their studies with diligence; contentment and peace were not interrupted, even by murmurs.[10]

[10] McClure, *Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock*, p. 56.

The preamble of the charter granted by George the Third shows clearly that it is to Wheelock that the credit for the new foundation belongs. It is such a good résumé of his early work that it is here reproduced:

WHEREAS it hath been represented to our trusty and well-beloved John Wentworth, Esq. Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over our province of New Hampshire, in New England in America, that the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, in the colony of Connecticut, in New England aforesaid, now Doctor in Divinity, did, on or about the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and fifty four, at his own expence, on his own estate and plantation, set on foot an *Indian Charity School,* and for several years, through the assistance of well disposed persons in America, cloathed, maintained and educated a number of the children of the *Indian natives,* with a view to their carrying the gospel in their own language, and spreading the knowledge of the great Redeemer among their savage tribes, and hath actually employed a number of them as Missionaries and School Masters in the wilderness for that purpose. And by the blessing of God, upon the endeavors of said Wheelock, the design became reputable among the Indians, insomuch that a larger number desired the education of their children in said School, and were also disposed to receive missionaries and school masters in the wilderness, more than could be supported by the charitable contributions in these American colonies.[11]

The purpose of the institution is defined as being "for the education and instruction of youths of the Indian tribes in this land, in reading, writing, and all parts of learning, which shall appear necessary and expedient, for civilizing and christianizing the children of pagans, as well as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youths, and any others." The charter further constitutes Eleazar Wheelock, "the founder of said College," as its first President, and gives him the right to nominate his successor. This proved to be his son, Rev. John Wheelock, a member of the Class of 1771, who left New Haven to accompany his father to New Hampshire. It was in his administration that Daniel Webster won the famous Dartmouth College case.

The first Wheelock conceived the idea of the college, selected its site, founded it in a few log cabins in a wilderness, and devoted himself unselfishly and without salary to its development. Surely it was

[11] Quoted from McClure, *Memoirs,* p. 180.

deserved when Rev. Dr. Richard Storrs, in his Inaugural Address as President of the American Historical Association in 1896, speaking on the "Contributions made to our National Development by Plain Men," took Manasseh Cutler (q.v.) and Wheelock as his examples, and ended his tribute to the latter by claiming that he was justified in "placing the name of Eleazar Wheelock among those of the men who, doing faithfully the work which came to them, have laid the nation under vast obligation."[12]

Dr. Wheelock (he received the Doctorate of Divinity from Edinburgh) was one of the best known preachers of his day. The historian Trumbull (q.v.) says that his sermons were "winning, beyond almost all comparison,"[13] but it is as an early and successful educator of the Indians, and as the founder of Dartmouth College, that he is entitled to lasting recognition. Here he did pioneer work of great importance.

The *Memoirs of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D.*, written by Rev. David McClure, D.D., is the main source of information for his life.

Dartm^{o} College Feby 7th 1773.

Rev^{d} & dear Sir

Yours of the 2 Inst^{t} came to hand yesterday, in answer to which I can only say, I shall be glad to serve the Youth of whom you write any way within my power—But I have no fund in my hand for any but those who are designed for the Indian Service, & have as many of them as I can support—

You say he is nearly supplied for the present year by y^{e} benevolence of a number of Ministers, and I think it a great pity he sho'd not be carried thro', if his Character be such as you give of him, & I suppose you to be as capable & faithful as any man to give it.

I have now a number on my hands, whom I have taken at my own risk—I dare not add much to the weight upon me—However if the Youth be disposed to improve vacations and diversions from study as some others do in Labor, & that without least injury to their Studies, I will undertake to carry him thro' from next Commencem^{t} for £60 lawful M^{y}·, & will take the pay in any kind of Provisions or Cows or horses or Sheep or any kind of neat Cattle at a reasonable price.

[12] *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, Vol. I.
[13] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 496.

I write you in utmost haste, but not too much to assure you that I am with much affection

Your cordial Friend and
very humble Servt
Eleazer Wheelock

Revd. Jos. Strong

This is the copy kept by Wheelock of the answer which he wrote to Rev. Joseph Strong (B.A. 1749) of Simsbury, Connecticut, regarding the possible admission of a young man—Samuel Mills—to Dartmouth. It is written on the back of Strong's letter of inquiry. Mills, who did creditable service[14] in the Revolution as quartermaster sergeant in the Connecticut Light Dragoons, and who was later a respected minister in Chester, Connecticut, was graduated from Yale in 1776. The letter is of interest as indicating that, although the charter of Dartmouth College was broad in its legal provisions, the main interest of its founders and patrons was in educating missionaries to the Indians. It also throws light on the primitive conditions existing at the time in northern New England, to know that a college president would accept the payment of tuition "in any kind of Provisions or Cows or horses or Sheep or any kind of neat Cattle." It is related of President Wheelock that the only compensation he ever received for his manifold services to the college was "a supply of provisions for his family."[15]

[14] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 323.
[15] McClure, *Memoirs*, p. 84.

Timothy Dwight

Class of 1769

Born, May 14, 1752; Died, February 11, 1817

President of Yale College

The unusual influence of the first President Dwight in determining the character and ideals of American college life in general, and of his students in particular, together with his leadership in developing a modern university at Yale, make him an outstanding figure in the history of American education. He was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, the eldest child of Major Timothy Dwight (B.A. 1744)—a merchant trained in the law,—and a grandson of Jonathan Edwards (q.v.). He also became the grandfather of the second President Dwight (B.A. 1849), and is, therefore, the link between the most distinguished Yale graduate of the eighteenth century and perhaps the most beloved graduate of the nineteenth century. He was a precocious youth, almost rivaling his friend John Trumbull (q.v.) in this respect. His mother is said to have taught him the alphabet in one lesson, and he studied Latin by himself when six.[1] He came to college in his fourteenth year, having been mainly prepared by Rev. Enoch Huntington (B.A. 1759). A Freshman entering at the same time wrote about their first experiences: "I got the bed made and filled [i.e. with hay] borrowed a coverlid, and we lodged in the College the same night you left us. . . . . I can't help laughing when I see the poor Freshmen creeping down stairs without the least noise, from the lash of their superiors. Freshmen have attained almost the happiness of negroes."[2] This last comment is more easily understood when the laws then in force are studied. They show that the simple rule of President Clap's early administration, "That Every Freshman Shall be Obliged to Go any reasonable and proper and

[1] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, Vol. I, p. 357.
[2] *Hours at Home*, Vol. 10, p. 331. Diary of David McClure.

reasonable Errand when he is Sent by any Student in any Superior Class,"[3] had been developed into a minutely worked out series of detailed regulations. A broadside copy, belonging to a student a year ahead of Dwight,[4] is preserved in the Library. It seems worth reproduction in full here, especially as it stood for a form of government which the subject of this sketch completely transformed during his presidency:

EVERY Freshman, after his admission into YALE-COLLEGE, is required to conform to the following Regulations, established by Authority for the preservation of Decency and good Order.

I. It being the duty of the Seniors to teach Freshmen the Laws, Usages and Customs of the College, to this end they are empowered to order the whole Freshman Class, or any particular Member of it, to appear, in order to be instructed or reproved, at such Time and Place as they shall appoint; when and where every Freshman shall attend, answer all proper Questions, and behave decently. The Seniors, however, are not to detain a Freshman more than Five Minutes after Study-Bell without special Order from the President, Professor, or Tutor.

II. The Freshmen are to shew all proper Respect to the Officers of College, the Residentiary Graduates and undergraduate Classes superior in standing to themselves.

III. The Freshmen, as well as all other Undergraduates, are to be uncovered, and are forbidden to wear their Hats (unless in stormy weather) in the front door-yard of the President's or Professor's House, or within Ten Rods of the Person of the President, Eight Rods of the Professor and Five Rods of a Tutor.

IV. The Freshmen are forbidden to wear their Hats in College-Yard (except in stormy weather, or when they are obliged to carry something in their Hands) until May Vacation; nor shall they afterwards wear them in College or Chapel.

V. No Freshman shall wear a Gown, or walk with a Cane, or appear out of his Room without being completely dressed, and with his Hat; and whenever a Freshman either speaks to a Superior, or is spoken to by one, he shall keep his Hat off, until he is bidden to put it on. A Freshman shall not play with any Members of an Upper Class, without being asked; nor is he permitted to use any Acts of familiarity with them, even in Study-Time.

VI. In Case of personal insult a Junior may call up a Freshman and reprehend him. A Sophimore in like Case may obtain leave from a Senior, and then he may discipline a Freshman, not detaining him more than 5 Minutes, after which the Freshman may retire, even without being dismissed, but must retire in a respectful Manner.

VII. All Undergraduates are to rise and stand, when the President or

[3] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 9.
[4] Seth Hunt (B.A. 1768).

Professor is entering or going out of the Chapel; nor shall they take up their Hats, after Public Exercises, until all their superiors have gone out.

VIII. All Undergraduates are to be called by their *Sur-Names;* Bachelors of Arts have the title of *Sir* prefixed to their names, and the title of Mr. is given to Masters of Arts.

IX. Freshmen are obliged to perform all reasonable Errands for any superior, always returning an Account of the same to the Person who sent them. When called, they shall attend and give a respectful answer; and when attending on their superior, they are not to depart until regularly dismissed. They are responsible for all Damage done to any Thing put into their Hands, by way of Errand. They are not obliged to go for the Undergraduates in study-time, without permission obtained from the Authority; nor are they obliged to go for a Graduate out of the Yard in study-time. A senior may take a Freshman from a sophimore, a Bachelor from a Junior, and a Master from a senior. None may order a Freshman in one play-time, to do an Errand in another.

X. If a Freshman is called by an undergraduate in study-time, he shall not answer nor go out of his Room, until first informed in his Room, that permission has been obtained from the President, Professor, or one of the Tutors. Freshmen living with Tutors are exempted from going Errands for any but the Authority of College.

XI. When a Freshman is near a Gate or Door, belonging to College or College-Yard, he shall look around, and observe whether any of his Superiors are coming to the same; and if any are coming within three rods, he shall not enter without a signal to proceed. In passing up or down stairs, or through an entry or any other narrow passage, if a Freshman meets a Superior, he shall stop and give way, leaving the most convenient side—if on the Stairs the Bannister side. Freshmen shall not run in College-Yard, or up or down stairs, or call to any one through a College window. When going into the Chamber of a Superior, they shall knock at the door, and shall leave it as they find it, whether open or shut. Upon entering the Chamber of a Superior, they shall not speak until spoken to; they shall reply modestly to all questions, and perform their messages decently and respectfully. They shall not tarry in a Superior's room, after they are dismissed, unless asked to sit. They shall always rise, whenever a superior enters or leaves the room, where they are, and not sit in his presence until permitted.

These rules are to be observed not only about College, but every where else within the limits of the City of New-Haven.

Most of these elaborate laws were repealed a generation later by the passing of this brief vote: "Freshman shall not hereafter be sent on errands by their fellow-students,"[5] but remnants of some of them—much modified—continue as traditional customs even to the present.

Dwight's studies were so far advanced on entering college that

[5] MS. Records of Yale Corporation, September 13, 1804.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT

CLASS OF 1769

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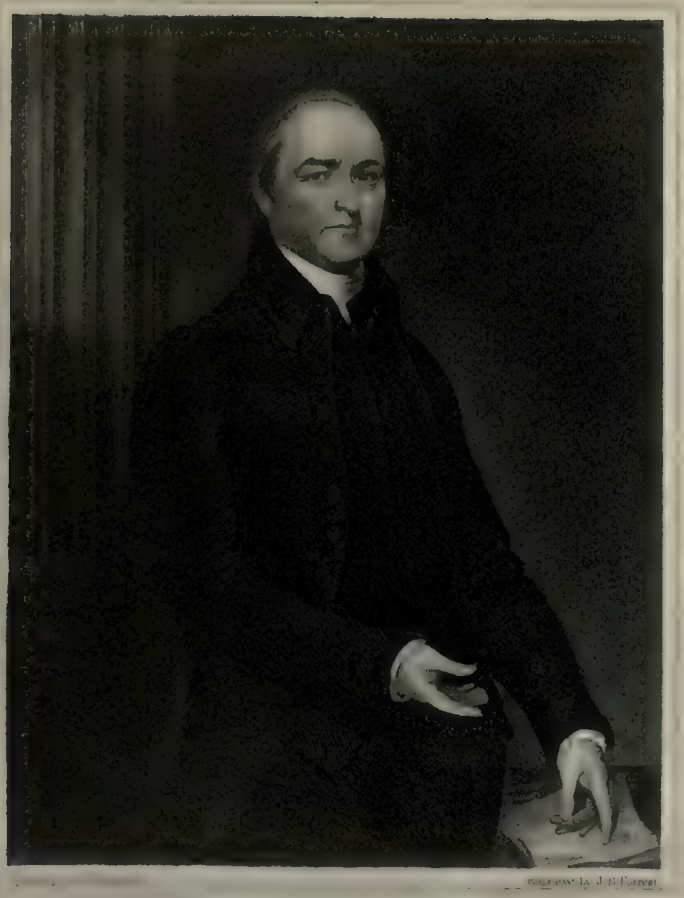

he had read many of the classical authors required of Freshmen and Sophomores. The result was unfortunate. The early part of his course was rendered too easy. He kept aloof from the worst forms of evil, but the first two years were not productive of good, either intellectually or morally. As one of his early biographers puts it, "through the folly of youth much of his time was misspent"; apparently his main offense being against the old college rule which provided severe penalties "If any Scholar Shall Play at Cards or Dice at all: or at any Lawfull Game upon a Wager."[6] It was a college tutor, Stephen Mix Mitchell (B.A. 1763), afterwards Chief Justice of Connecticut and a member of the Convention which ratified the United States Constitution, who was mainly responsible for changing the trend of his life. He saw that vigorous action was necessary to prevent young Dwight from falling into wayward habits, and entreated him to turn his back on all unworthy and distracting occupations. The advice was received in the spirit in which it was given, and as a result Tutor Mitchell was held in grateful remembrance.[7]

The beginnings of Junior year witnessed the great change. From that time to the end of his life his higher faculties were constantly used to the utmost of his strength. He began to give regularly fourteen hours a day to his studies. Rev. William B. Sprague, D. D. (B.A. 1815), his pupil and biographer, has this to say of the character of his subsequent college work:

> Besides making himself thoroughly acquainted with every thing in the prescribed course, he devoted himself, with great intensity, to other collateral branches of study; and it was about this time, that he began more particularly to indulge his taste for music and poetry. Deeply sensible of his delinquency during the two preceding years, he resolved that he would make the best atonement for it he could by extraordinary subsequent diligence; and the consequence was, that, at the close of his college course, notwithstanding he was then a mere stripling, a little past seventeen, his attainments were reckoned inferior to those of none in his class, and the first honor was awarded to another only in consideration of his superior age.[8]

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 7. Laws of 1745.
[7] Sprague, *Life of Timothy Dwight*, p. 258.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 244, 245. The "other" was Rev. Nathan Strong, D.D., later one of the ablest preachers in New England.

Dwight was chancellor of Linonia, and made many warm friendships in college. Among them that with Colonel Humphreys (q.v.), who was two classes behind him, is of special interest in view of their later position as leaders in the first literary coterie in America—the Connecticut or Hartford Wits. His *Epistle to Col. Humphreys*[9] is an evidence of this friendship.

In considering the influence of Yale on Dwight's future career it is important to remember that the patriotic feeling in the College was very strong. In the middle of Senior year, his class held a meeting, and agreed, with only three or four dissenting votes, "to make their Appearance at the next public Commencement, when they are to take their first Degree, wholly dressed in the Manufactures of our own Country." They published a notice to this effect in the Connecticut journals for January, 1769, so as to give their parents and friends ample opportunity to make the required homespun, "that none of them may be obliged to the hard Necessity of unfashionable Singularity, by wearing imported Cloth."[10] An evidence of the same feeling on the part of the authorities of the College is that, at the beginning of his Junior year, the vote of the Corporation, originally passed April 22, 1766, was put into effect, doing away with the old method of arranging the members of classes in printed lists in the order of the social rank of their families, and substituting the more democratic alphabetical arrangement. One of Dwight's classmates, writing in December, 1767, has the new rule in mind, when he says: "It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction put upon the best scholars and speakers."[11]

[9] See *American Poems*, Litchfield, 1793, Vol. I, p. 75.
[10] Quoted by Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 303.
[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 264; from *Hours at Home* for February, 1870.
A study of the relation of social rank to public service is interesting, and these ratings in the New England colleges, prior to the period of the Revolution, supply some of the few criteria on which any reliable conclusions may be drawn from American college history. Of the eighteen men graduated through the Class of 1767, and commemorated by biographies in this volume, three, Jared Eliot, William Livingston, and Oliver Wolcott (Senior), had their names placed first, and John Trumbull had his placed second, in their respective class lists,

After serving for two years as principal of the Hopkins Grammar School, Dwight was elected to the tutorship. He was only nineteen, no older than the majority of the class he was to instruct,[12] but his success was unqualified, especially in creating a keener interest in literary studies. It was also at this time that he was "first brought effectually and permanently under the power of religion," and became a communicant of the College Church.

During his tutorship he began his ambitious poem, *The Conquest of Canaan,* and made two addresses that were published. The first was *A Dissertation on the History, Eloquence, and Poetry of the Bible,* delivered when he received his Master's degree, and remarkable, considering its date, for its broad literary treatment of the Scriptures. He claims to have been the first Commencement speaker at Yale to have discoursed on "the excellencies of the Bible from the point of view of fine writing."[13] At the same time he supported the negative of the question *An ab ulla Lege humana, res aliter indifferentes prohibente conscientia teneatur.*

A Valedictory Address to the Young Gentlemen, who commenced Bachelors of Arts at Yale-College, July 25th, 1776, was his other effort. These students had been almost exclusively under his instruction during their first three years, and he appealed to them to make the best of their opportunities as educated men in the new country which had just declared its independence. "Remember," he said, "that you are to act for the empire of America, and for a long

because of the high social standing of their families. On the other hand, Jonathan Dickinson was placed last, although in a class of only three members, Samuel Johnson next to the last, and Manasseh Cutler and Pelatiah Webster third from the last. So honors would seem fairly even. An enumeration, comparing the order of standing of men with the totals in their classes, shows the social rank of "eminent Yale men" in the early period when such matters were recorded, as only three per cent above the class average. On the other hand, of the eleven eligibles in the lists of "Supplementary Names," the average social standing is one per cent under the middle line. Here again there is a man ranked as first, Lewis Morris, and one ranked as last, William Smith. The general conclusion is that in eighteenth century Yale, where at least a moderate amount of brains, ambition, and intellectual discipline were required for admission, high social position did not prove either a help or a hindrance to later distinction. We find representatives of the best patrician stock of New England attaining eminence alongside of three sons of blacksmiths, Silas Deane, Lyman Beecher, and Abraham Baldwin.

[12] Sprague, *Life of Timothy Dwight,* p. 301.

[13] See *A Dissertation,* etc., p. 8.

succession of ages."[14] But the most important single result of Dwight's tutorship was his remarkable success in broadening the curriculum. The modern emphasis on the humanities at Yale, and indirectly at other American colleges, owes much to action taken, at his request, in October, 1776. It is thus referred to in the records of the Yale Corporation:

> Upon application made to this board by Mr. Dwight, one of the tutors, at the desire of the present senior class, requesting that they might be permitted to hire the said Mr. Dwight to instruct them the current year in rhetoric, history, and the belles lettres: Upon considering the motion, the corporation being willing to encourage the improvement of the youth in those branches of polite literature, do comply with their request, provided it may be done with the approbation of the parents or guardians of said class.[15]

His term as tutor was memorable for the disbanding of the College, owing to the danger from the enemy on Long Island Sound. The Seniors were sent for the summer term to Wethersfield, under his direction—an excellent training for the larger responsibilities of the future.

In the summer of 1777 Dwight was licensed to preach. In the autumn he resigned his tutorship, and accepted from Congress a brigade chaplaincy in the Revolutionary Army. This carried with it the rank and pay of a colonel. Abraham Baldwin (q.v.) and Joel Barlow (q.v.) were among the half-dozen Yale graduates who were appointed to similar positions,[16] while his college friend, David Humphreys (q.v.), was major of his brigade. Dwight was an ardent patriot, and his record as chaplain was admirable, but his army connection is principally remembered by the patriotic songs which he wrote. At least one of these, *Columbia,* was universally popular, and did much to encourage patriotic feelings:

> Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
> The queen of the world, and child of the skies!
> Thy genius commands thee; with rapture behold,
> While ages on ages thy splendours unfold.

[14] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. vi.
[15] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 99, Meeting of October 23, 1776.
[16] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 68.

> Thy reign is the last, and the noblest of time,
> Most fruitful thy soil, most inviting thy clime;
> Let the crimes of the east ne'er encrimson thy name,
> Be freedom, and science, and virtue, thy fame.[17]

After a year's service, spent mainly in Westchester County, New York, and at West Point, he was called home to Northampton, owing to his father's death. He spent the next five years managing the family farms, supplying local congregations, teaching school, acting as representative in the state legislature, and in various ways making himself felt for good as a minister and citizen, while at the same time serving as the main support of his mother's family. For the twelve years beginning with 1783 he was pastor of the church at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, where he also conducted a school of "unexampled reputation."[18] He admitted both sexes, and is recognized as a pioneer in the education of women.[19] According to the prospectus of the school "the Languages, Geography, English Grammar, Reading, Writing, Speaking, and the practical branches of Mathematics"[20] were taught. Over a thousand pupils came under his influence.

This was the period of Dr. Dwight's main literary activity. *The Conquest of Canaan* was published, and his two other ambitious poems, *The Triumph of Infidelity* and *Greenfield Hill,* were written. But these rather ponderous works, to which he devoted so much attention, and which gained for him much contemporary reputation—Barlow called him "the Epic Muse Sublime"[21]—are today passed over, as having mainly an interest to the student of the early days of American literature, while his *Travels; in New England and New York* (1796-1815), which were not published until after his death, are receiving increased attention from students. A writer in the *Quarterly Review,* as early as 1823, clearly saw their significance, saying

[17] For the complete song, see *American Poems* [Smith], pp. 62-64.
[18] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. III, p. 323.
[19] See Brown, *The Meaning of our Secondary Schools,* pp. 266-269. Among other Yale leaders in the cause of the higher education of women were Theron Baldwin (q.v.) and F. A. P. Barnard (q.v.).
[20] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. III, p. 323.
[21] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus,* Book VII, p. 211.

that they constituted "the most important of Dwight's writings, a work which will derive additional value from time, whatever may become of his poetry and of his sermons."[22] The volumes are by no means confined to local geography and history. They contain accounts of society and reflections on almost all subjects, constituting "a vast literary miscellany; not a book but a bibliotheca," to quote the words of Professor Tyler,[23] who agrees with the reviewer in thinking this the literary work by which their author is likely to be remembered the longest.[24] Some of his hymns and translations of Psalms will also endure, especially the well-known "I love thy Kingdom, Lord." Dwight stands first in point of time among the writers of American poetry recognized by Professor Lounsbury in his anthology.[25]

He had been an ardent patriot, a preacher and pastor of high reputation, an author of note, a teacher of great ability. Now all of these noble traits and gifts were, for the first time, to find an ample field for their expression. In 1795 President Stiles died, and soon afterwards Dr. Dwight was elected his successor. As President of Yale College he became a national figure and influence. He held the office until his death—a period of twenty-one years—during which time the eighteenth century College was so broadened as to lay the foundations for the future University, and a personal influence of incalculable benefit was exerted on some of the foremost men of the coming time. During his administration the Medical School[26] was organized and made a separate Department of the institution, the Divinity School was planned, and Nathaniel W. Taylor (q.v.) selected for its head, a professorship of Law was established, instruction in modern science was begun by the appointment, in 1802, of Benjamin Silliman (q.v.) to the new chair of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology—the nucleus from which later the Sheffield School was

[22] Quoted by Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, Vol. I, p. 359.
[23] Tyler, *Three Men of Letters*, p. 122.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[25] *Yale Book of American Verse*, p. 1.
[26] Instruction in medicine and law was proposed as early as 1777. See Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 233.

to be developed—the powers of the Faculty as a body in the government of the College were recognized and defined[27] for the first time, the old fagging system was abolished,[28] the beginnings were made of the sane modern method of dealing with students through personal influence rather than by a system of fines, penalties, and punishments, men of promise of the highest attainments were selected by the President and called to the Faculty—James L. Kingsley, Jeremiah Day, Alexander M. Fisher, Eli Ives, and others—North Middle and Lyceum were built, and the present Sheffield Hall purchased for the use of the Medical School, the books in the College Library were almost doubled in number, the student body increased from one hundred and ten to three hundred and thirteen, young men were attracted from the South and Southwest, and a new spirit of progress pervaded Faculty and students alike. Professor Dexter sums up the administration of which President Dwight was the motive power, by saying that under him Yale "had begun to acquire its distinctive character as a National Institution and one in which the University Principle was henceforth to be recognized."[29]

Great and epoch-making as were his services as the executive head of the College, he did perhaps an even more important work as the teacher and inspirer of youth. President Dwight was a noble personality, a man of commanding presence and power, who molded the character of his students, and impressed them with his ideals. In these respects he was the equal, if not the superior, of any American of his generation. "He was himself greater than anything he ever said or did; and for those who came near him, all that he did or said had an added import and fascination as proceeding from one so overpoweringly competent and impressive."[30]

As College Pastor and Professor of Theology, and as having *ex officio* the instruction of the Seniors in rhetoric, logic, belles-lettres, metaphysics and ethics, he had ample opportunity to make known

[27] Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 47; (the date was 1795).
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 48; (1804). [29] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[30] Tyler, *Three Men of Letters*, p. 99.

his views on the fundamental verities. He was at his best at the weekly discussions of the Senior class when a subject of interest previously agreed upon was debated. At the close the President gave his opinion on the merits both of the debate and of the question. Fortunately a student took stenographic notes of these exercises. Anyone may read today with pleasure and profit *Decisions of Questions discussed by the Senior Class in Yale College, in 1813 and 1814.* His *System of Theology,* being the sermons covering the Sundays of the four-year college course, is also still readable and suggestive, as the writer knows from experience. Their author's arguments are not always convincing, his doctrines will not always satisfy the modern mind; but his desire to present a positive and reasonable faith, and to meet objections fairly, is open to all praise. His sermons against the growing infidelity created an impression that was nation-wide in its importance. The influence he exerted in this way has been described by an eminent jurist, Hon. Roger Minott Sherman (q.v.), who, as a student in the closing years of the Stiles régime, and as a tutor in the first year of Dwight's presidency, was well able to judge of his achievement:

> At the time he became President, infidelity, the offspring of the French School, was extensively prevalent among the undergraduates, and throughout this State. Laymen of distinction generally, and our most eminent lawyers especially, were its advocates. The high reputation of Dr. Dwight attracted these men, when the Legislature and Courts were in session at New Haven, into the College chapel. Such occasions were improved by him to meet the prevailing errors of the day. This he did, not by reproaches, but by sound argument and overwhelming eloquence. The effect was wonderful. The new philosophy lost its attractions. In Connecticut it ceased to be fashionable or even reputable; and the religion of the Pilgrims, which was fearfully threatened with extermination, regained its respectability and influence. The character of the College was restored; and its increasing numbers, gathered from all parts of the United States, extended an influence over the nation, which, I trust, will be felt for centuries to come. I often expressed the opinion, which length of time has continually strengthened, that no man except "the Father of his Country," had conferred greater benefits on our nation than President Dwight.[31]

[31] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* Vol. II, pp. 164, 165.

As an evidence of the effect of the religious change in the College, the Secretary of the Class of 1802 reports that "25 of our own class sat down at the table of the Lord," although "only one was a professor of religion when he joined college."[32] This change was largely the result of the President's personal influence. The period seems to have been one of order in the College, with relatively few penalties. The Moral Society flourished.

That the good President had his limitations is not doubted. He loved power, was called sarcastically "his Loftiness" by Dr. Stiles,[33] and was not adverse to applause, but he recognized and regretted these imperfections in later life.[34] Doubtless the Doctorate of Divinity he received from Princeton, and the Doctorate of Laws from Harvard, gave him unusual satisfaction. A contemporary opposed to his strong Federalism has described him as both the religious and political Pope of Connecticut, holding the keys of power.[35] But these defects are as nothing in comparison with the impressive strength and nobility of his character, his influence on student ideals, and the breadth of his interests. The last named included most of the important benevolent and educational movements of his day in America. Speaking eighty years after his death, the late Senator Hoar, a close student of American history, said: "President Dwight has always seemed to me the most interesting single figure among American college presidents. Of course I am not speaking of the living. But I do not think it would be any overstatement to say, that for a grand personality and power, Dr. Dwight was the most striking man who ever filled that office."[36]

An even more impressive testimony is that of Chancellor Kent, who knew him intimately:

> He most deservedly filled a large space in the public eye, by his talents, his

[32] MS. "Brief History of the Class of 1802," pp. 5, 6.
[33] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 531.
[34] Sprague, *Life of Timothy Dwight*, pp. 254, 255.
[35] John Wood, 1802, quoted in Johnston, *Connecticut* (American Commonwealth Series), p. 245.
[36] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. 12, p. 4.

learning, his imagination, his taste, his industry, his powers of conversation, his controlling eloquence, his ardent piety, his paternal manners, and the purity, simplicity and dignity of his character. He has done more than any other person to explain and recommend to the respect of mankind, the wisdom of the institutions of New England, and the progress of her settlements, her geography, her history, her biography, and the intelligent, moral and religious character of her people. He has done more than any other American Divine to "justify the ways of God to man" from the creation to the consummation of all things, by a system of Theology profoundly digested, and equally perfect in the grandeur of the plan, and in the unwearied skill and completeness of the execution.[87]

Unfortunately no adequate life has been written. There is a good short memoir by his son, Rev. Sereno Dwight (B.A. 1803), prefixed to his *Theology,* and there is a readable, but uncritical, biography by Rev. William B. Sprague (B.A. 1815), in Sparks' *Library.* The University owns the fine portrait painted about 1805 by Colonel Trumbull, and presented by members of the Class of 1817. Dwight Hall on the College Campus was named in his honor, because of his conspicuous services in building up the "Church of Christ in Yale College," and in developing a manly interest in true religion among undergraduates.

New Haven, Oct. 26. 1811

My dear Friend,

In answer to yours I can only say at present, that I regret the *puppy snatch,* as *D^r^ Lyman* would call it, into which you are by some means or other drawn; & that, if *M^r^. Adams* should determine the young gentleman to be fit for admission, it would be well for him to come on; otherwise not. We cannot alter our terms even in so pressing & painful a case, as I perceive this to be

As to his cousin, it will be easily believed by you, that his advancement to the Sophomore Class must be ruinous to him, as well as noxious to our system.

It is impossible for us, & for me as an official man, to break thro' a system; especially a system indispensable to the safety of our Institution. Unhappily, these Southern Gentlemen do not generally understand, that it is one thing to go thro' a College, & quite another to be a scholar.

M^rs^ Dwight is at Norwich. The rest of my family are well, as are both of your sons.

[87] Kent, *Address delivered at New Haven, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, September 13, 1831,* pp. 44-45.

Give my love to M^rs^ M., & remember me affect'y to our friends around you. I shall write you again before long, (D.V.) I am ever

Yours, T. DWIGHT

Rev. D^r^ Morse.

The letter is addressed to Rev. Jedidiah Morse (q.v.), who, at the time, had two sons in college, while another, the inventor of the electric telegraph, had just received his degree. Good autograph letters of President Dwight are scarce, due to the fact that his eyes were overstrained by the excessive study of Greek by candlelight as an undergraduate. Most of his correspondence when he reached maturity had to be conducted through an amanuensis.

This letter, as appears from a note on the back, refers to the admission to college of the two Legarés, from Charleston, South Carolina, who were subsequently graduated in the Class of 1815. Evidently one wished to enter the Sophomore class, a procedure to which the President objected. The Mr. Adams referred to was John Adams (B.A. 1795, LL.D. 1854), the able and respected Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, from 1810 to 1832. Unfortunately "Southern Gentlemen" are not today the only ones who "do not generally understand, that it is one thing to go thro' a College, & quite another to be a scholar." Throughout President Dwight's administration South Carolinians were found in unusually large numbers at Yale. When Professor Silliman visited Charleston in 1815, he found Yale graduates among the most prominent families, such as the Gadsdens, Grimkés, Legarés, etc. See Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. II, p. 9.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet

Class of 1805

Born, December 10, 1787; Died, September 9, 1851

Founder of Deaf-Mute Instruction in America

Gallaudet was born in Philadelphia, of Huguenot stock. His father was a merchant of philanthropic interests. The son prepared for college at the Hartford Grammar School, and entered the Sophomore class. His course was marked by high scholarship, particularly in mathematics and English composition. That he wished to excel is shown by his record, and confirmed by the subject of his theme on taking the Master's degree, "Ambition as a Motive in the Education of Youth." There is record of his being a frequent debater in Brothers in Unity, of which he was one of the presidents. He spoke on such questions as "Ought the dictates of conscience invariably to be followed?", "Would it be just and politic for the nations of the earth to combine and extirpate the Barbary powers?" and "Would it be politic in the United States to emancipate the slaves?"[1] On the last subject he came out as a strong anti-slavery man, but argued that immediate and wholesale manumission would not be wise. Similarly he took an active part in the doings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, serving on many of its committees and joining in its debates. The minutes for a portion of Junior year are in his hand as secretary. Occasionally we get personal touches, like the following regarding his friend Jeremiah Evarts' oration on the present state of literature in New England: "The writer of this Record does Mr. Evarts but justice, when he observes that the style of his Oration was 'full & flowing without being diffuse, elevated without being ostentatious.' . . . . The remainder of the evening was spent in innocent mirth and hilarity."[2] Like most men of his time he was deeply interested

[1] *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet*, by his son, p. 21.
[2] MS. Phi Beta Kappa Records, December 5, 1804.

in his literary society, and was elected to many of its most important offices and committees. As a Senior, he made an earnest address to its members "before a very crowded assembly," urging them to strive to maintain its best traditions. He ended the address with an original poem. This is inserted here as an evidence of his ideals and literary tastes at the time of his graduation:

May the bright lamp of science guide your way,
Your minds illumine with perpetual day,
Teach you to aim at truth and truth alone,
Error forsake and virtue call your own.
To these be added all the heartfelt joys
Of sweet domestic life, far from the noise
Of proud Ambition's bustle and alarm,
Kindling with frenzy, raging like the storm.
And when the busy cares of life are o'er,
When sounds the trembling silver cord no more,
When bursts, at length, in twain the golden bowl,
And when the cistern wheel no more is whole,
May purer joys than blest the Elysian field
To your rapt senses kindly be revealed.[3]

At the Commencement exercises he delivered an address which is preserved in manuscript in the University Library. It is entitled "An Oration on the increase of luxury in Connecticut, and its destructive tendencies." He also took part with five of his classmates in the dialogue of "Timophanes," or "The Tyrant of Corinth."

His undergraduate course was a happy and creditable one. According to his biographer, "In the latter portion of his life, he was afterward heard to speak of his college days with unmixed satisfaction. Many friendships then formed he maintained until his death. His devotion to study was not carried so far as to stand in the way of his mingling a good deal in social life; and in this the maturity of his mind gained him the companionship of many much older than himself."[4] A classmate has preserved his impressions of Dr. Gallaudet as an undergraduate:

[3] Gallaudet, *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet*, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

More youthful in appearance than even in age; modest, unobtrusive, and strictly correct in all his habits, Gallaudet was a universal favorite in his class. We all loved him and anticipated much from him, in whatever profession he might choose to enter. In his studies he was remarkably systematic, and was scrupulously punctual in his attendance upon all college exercises. Rarely, if ever, had he a mark upon the monitor's bill, and whoever else might boggle over the lesson, Gallaudet was sure to have mastered it. He had a talent and a taste for mathematics, which would have given him very high distinction as a professor in that department had he chosen to devote his life to it. In English composition he had no superior, and no equal in his class. Indeed there was no branch, except declamation, in which he did not excel; and in that he always acquitted himself handsomely, though his voice was not strong, and he was too modest to do himself full justice on the college stage. He graduated in 1805, with the highest honors of his class, and left our Alma Mater with the confident prediction of those who knew him best, that should his life and health be spared he would become one of our brightest ornaments.[5]

At the time of graduation his future career was not clearly indicated, so, like many others similarly situated, he studied law. But ill health forced him to suspend his studies, and he devoted himself for over a year to the reading of literature and to the practice of English composition. Then he became a tutor at Yale and spent two more years in New Haven. They were not altogether happy years, for he was undecided as to his career and he was passing through a period of doubt and depression. Here is a quotation from his journal that reflects his point of view at the time, and the purpose which he finally realized:

Thursday morning, April 6, 1809, Yale College, in my chamber. In prayer this morning I made two solemn vows to Almighty God; one that if He would afford me rational conviction of my having passed from death unto life I would (as soon as I had obtained this) make a profession of religion; the other that if in His providence He should see fit to restore me to health and strength of body, and a capability of studying, I would devote myself to the ministry of the Gospel. I here record them for my future benefit.[6]

His tutorship was followed by a brief business career, and this, in turn, by his entering the Andover Theological Seminary. He was licensed to preach and was determined to spend his life in the service of

[5] *Life and Labors of the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet,* by Rev. Heman Humphrey, pp. 22, 23. (Quoted from E. M. Gallaudet's *Life,* p. 20.)

[6] Gallaudet, *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet,* pp. 36, 37.

THOMAS HOPKINS GALLAUDET

CLASS OF 1805

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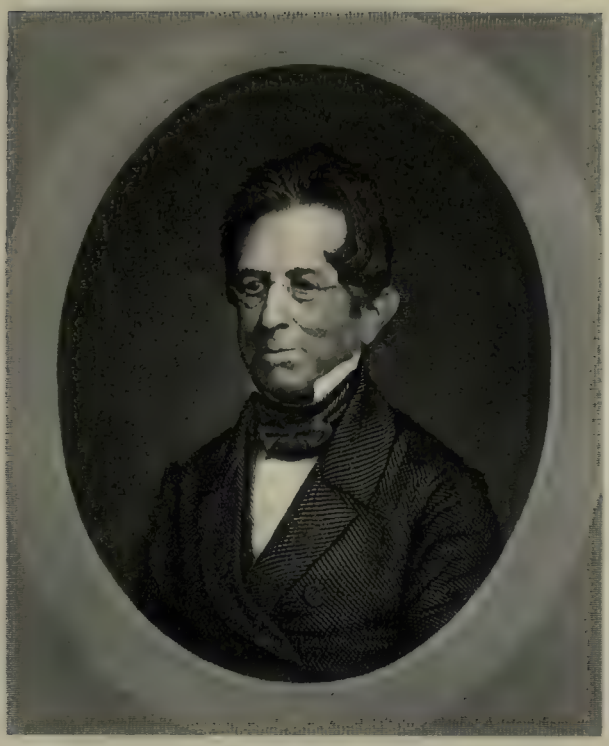


his fellow men, but the exact field or character of work was not yet known to him. In 1815 the cause and the man found each other. Alice Cogswell, the daughter of a distinguished physician of Hartford, Mason Fitch Cogswell (q.v.), lost the power of hearing and of speech, as the result of a serious illness in her third year. Her father found by correspondence that there were at least eighty deaf-mutes[7] in Connecticut, and that there was no means for their education in the United States. As a result of these investigations, and of the initial successes of young Gallaudet in giving her instruction, a meeting was held in 1815, at Dr. Cogswell's house, and Gallaudet was chosen to go to Europe to study the methods of deaf-mute teaching in England and France. The undertaking was initiated under Yale auspices, as the meeting was called and presided over by a graduate, prayer was offered by another Yale man, the well-known preacher, Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong (B.A. 1769), and a third graduate was selected to lead this new educational movement in America. The year spent abroad was most profitable. He visited deaf-mute institutions in Edinburgh, London, and Paris, and found the system employed by the Abbé Sicard in the French capital specially satisfactory. The English schools, being largely private monopolies, were closed to him as a regular student, but he was fortunate in being admitted as a pupil of Sicard, and in securing as an assistant, Laurent Clerc, a deaf-mute, who was trained by Sicard, and who returned with him to America in 1816. Then began a campaign of education before state legislatures and other public bodies which lasted for several years. Gallaudet and Clerc made such a deep impression that public opinion in favor of deaf-mute instruction was aroused in various sections. As a result many asylums for the deaf and dumb were established: Hartford, in 1817; New York State, 1818; Pennsylvania State, 1821; Kentucky Asylum, 1824; Ohio Asylum, 1829. He served as Principal of the American Asylum in Hartford until 1830, when he resigned on account of ill health, but continued a member

[7] For this and other facts see Barnard, *Tribute to Gallaudet.*

of the Board of Directors. During his principalship the annual attendance increased from seven to one hundred and nineteen, and the efficiency of the Asylum made it the model generally copied in America. Dr. Gallaudet laid great emphasis on placing religion in a simple and natural way at the foundation of instruction, and most of his literary work, aside from his editing the *Annals of the Deaf and Dumb,* was of a religious character. One of his volumes, *The Child's Book of the Soul,* went through many editions, and was translated into Spanish, German, and Italian.

Dr. Gallaudet's work as the American pioneer in the instruction of the deaf and dumb was of such national significance that his other services have been generally overlooked. He was one of the early advocates of manual training schools, normal schools, physical instruction, the higher education of women, and the general improvement of public schools. He was offered the first appointment as Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, but declined it, as he did also the first principalship of the Asylum for the Blind in Boston, and the professorship of Philosophy in New York University. He was broad in his philanthropic interests, and served for many years as chaplain at the Hartford County Prison, and later at the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane. His wife and his two sons both rendered important service to the deaf-mutes of America, among whom the name of Gallaudet will always be held in high honor.[8] It was not inappropriate that in the first voting for the Hall of Fame at New York University he received one-third of the votes necessary for an election, and was surpassed by Woolsey alone among the Yale candidates in the field of education. According to the census of 1890, there were over forty thousand deaf-mutes in America. For their educational facilities these persons are almost all indebted, directly or indirectly, to Dr. Gallaudet. In view of his important services it is strange that Western Reserve alone

[8] It is interesting in this connection to note that some of his leading associates and successors in the field of deaf-mute instruction were Yale men; among them Harvey Prindle Peet (B.A. 1822), Isaac Lewis Peet (B.A. 1845), and Rev. Collins Stone (B.A. 1832).

among colleges conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. At a public memorial meeting held in Hartford shortly after his death, the following resolutions summarizing his character and achievements were adopted:

Resolved, That the whole character of the eminent and excellent man whose death we mourn, commanding, as it did, our reverence and admiration while he lived among us, will be long remembered now that he is dead, as a happy union of various and often disunited qualities; of Christian faith and philanthropic works; of liberality without laxity; of firmness without bigotry; of sympathy with the vicious and the criminal in their sufferings, without undue tenderness toward vice and crime; and as furnishing in its whole development, a beautiful proof of the possibility of meeting the most rigorous demands of conscience and of God, and of securing, at the same time, the love and respect of all classes and conditions of men.

Resolved, That, by the death of Dr. Gallaudet, society has lost one of its brightest ornaments; the cause of education a most able and faithful advocate; religion, a shining example of daily devotion of its principles; the young, a kind and judicious counselor; and the unfortunate of every class, a self-denying and never wearying friend.

Resolved, That the noblest monuments of the deceased are already erected; and that his name will never be forgotten, so long as the two benevolent institutions, one of which received its existence from the labor of his early manhood, while the other enjoyed the devoted services of his later years, remain to crown the beautiful hills in the neighborhood of our city.[9]

At the same meeting a hymn was read by Mrs. Sigourney:

We mourn his loss,—who meekly walked
In the Redeemer's way,
And toiled the unfolding mind to shield
From Error's darkening sway;

Who strove through Nature's prisoning shades
The hermit-heart to reach,
And with philosophy divine
To give the silent, speech;

Who 'mid the cells of dire disease
In prayerful patience wrought,
And stricken and bewildered souls
To a Great Healer brought.

[9] Barnard, *Tribute to Gallaudet*, p. 62.

Around his grave let pilgrims throng,
And tears bedew his urn;
'Tis meet that for the friend of all,
The hearts of all should mourn.

Yet meet it is our God to praise
For his example here,
And for his glorious rest,—above
The trial and the tear.[10]

His *Life and Writings* was published in 1857, by his Yale classmate, President Heman Humphrey, of Amherst, and has been followed by a more important life written by his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet. An excellent memorial discourse entitled *Tribute to Gallaudet* was delivered by Henry Barnard (q.v.) in 1852.

To the President & Directors of the Am: Asylum &c—Gentlemen,—

One important object of the communication which I made to you a week since, was to present a statement of the duties which, in my opinion, the true interests of the Asylum render desireable to be performed by the Principal, & most of which it must be very difficult, if not quite impossible, for him to perform while confined to the daily instruction of a class.—Permit me to say, that the bearing which this may have on the continuance of my connection with the Asylum, has far less influence with me in presenting it to your consideration, than the strong desire which I feel to have the office of Principal, whoever may fill it, in consequence of the liberal & enlightened views held with regard to its duties, become one of the means of sustaining, & even elevating to a still higher rank, the character & usefulness of the Institution over which you preside.—For this purpose, & to prevent all misapprehension, I beg leave to mention these duties under the following heads;—

1. The Principal of the Institution should have [time for] maturing improvements in the course of instruction, derived both from his own experience & that of his colleagues, & from the study of such works as are published on this subject.—Of late years the Institutions in Europe have been much occupied in devising modes of improvement, & are continually presenting their results to the public. It is important that the Principal should have leisure both by reading & reflection, & by correspondence with Foreign Institutions, to collect & arrange such improvements.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

2. He should frequently visit the different classes, & more particularly those taught by the younger instructors, & by those who were formerly pupils in the Asylum, to give all, the benefit of his experience,—to suggest improvements in the modes of instruction,—to select the suitable books to be used in the classes—to show, occasionally, by teaching the pupils himself in the presence of the instructors, how the more difficult parts of instruction are to be effected, & thus to elevate the general character of the Institution in this respect, & to produce an uniformity in the manner of making signs, & of giving instruction.—

3. He should deliver a course of lectures to the younger instructors; &, at such lectures & in the school rooms, notice and candidly correct any errors which they may fall into in the mode of making signs.—

4. He should give very particular attention to the religious lessons of the younger classes, & explain such lessons himself, while such classes are under the care of the younger teachers.

5. He should conduct the general correspondence of the Institution.—

6. He should be ready to make such excursions as the Board of Directors may prescribe to the Legislatures of the New England States, to keep alive their interest in the deaf & dumb.

7. He should attend to such visitors as may more particularly demand this mark of respect.

8. He should, as his leisure will permit, go on in the preparation of books for this & similar Institutions. For a season, it may be for the interests of the institution to dispense with the performance of some of his other duties, that he may prepare such books.—

9. He should officiate, in turn, in the religious exercises of the Asylum.—

10. He should exercise a general oversight over the internal concerns of the Asylum, endeavouring by his example & influence to introduce punctuality, order, & energy into all its departments, & to see that the regulations made by the Board of Directors, & by the Faculty, for this purpose, are carried into effect.

T. H. G.

Jan^{u} 18. 1830—

It is impossible to read this copy kept by Dr. Gallaudet of his letter to his Board of Directors without feeling the wisdom, breadth, and progressiveness of the man. He was constantly seeking new opportunities to improve deaf-mute instruction and to extend its scope. The letter stands for a rather sad incident in his career.

Failing health made him—a week earlier—request relief from the burden of regular daily instruction. Some of his colleagues thought this relief unnecessary, so that in April, 1830, he handed in his resignation, to take effect the following October. The letter shows clearly both the justice and the wisdom of his request to the Directors.

A signature is added from another document, as the letter only bears his initials.

Theodore Dwight Woolsey

Class of 1820

Born, October 31, 1801; Died, July 1, 1889

President of Yale College and Eminent Scholar

President Woolsey was the son of William W. Woolsey, a New York merchant, the grandson of Benjamin Woolsey (B.A. 1744), and the great-grandson of Rev. Benjamin Woolsey (B.A. 1709). His mother was a sister of the first President Dwight (B.A. 1769), which made him also a great-grandson of Jonathan Edwards (B.A. 1720). The parents moved to New Haven when young Woolsey was only four years old. By inheritance, relationship, and association he was, therefore, intimately identified with the College. His preparation for Yale was divided between the Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, and the schools in Hartford and Greenfield Hill.

President Dwight, in his Memorial Address on his distinguished predecessor, thus pictured his friend's entrance upon Yale life:

> I look backward in my thought, quite beyond the limits of my vision, to a fair autumn day in the year 1816, and I seem to see a slender, gentle youth coming forward with hesitation, and yet with confidence, to the doorway of entrance into the College life. His clear and penetrating eye bears witness of the intellect which illumines it, and his slightly bent figure suggests the scholarly habit and taste which soon make themselves manifest. Evidently of a cultured family and carrying in himself the inheritance of character and refinement, he wins the interest of all who test his fitness for the course of study which he desires to begin. Because of his name he is, of necessity, placed last in the list of the classmates who form the newly entering company, but by reason of his power he gives promise at the outset of what is realized at the end.[1] . . . . He followed a quiet pathway through his college life, but it was a pathway of honor and success. He moved along his course in closest, yet friendly, rivalry with Solomon Stoddard, his classmate, who afterwards stood in the foremost rank among the Latin scholars of his generation, and in kindly association with Leonard Bacon, who became one of the leaders of men for the fifty years that followed. He surpassed the former in his scholarly record in the college years, and won from the latter the word of commendation which

[1] *Theodore Dwight Woolsey*, Memorial Address by President Dwight, p. 3.

pronounced him the first of the whole brotherhood of the class as a man of intellectual power.[2]

Woolsey was a refined, studious undergraduate, to whom college life meant mainly intellectual opportunities and a few deep friendships. "Of the class I knew but little, as I lived away from commons and the College buildings, in the house of a near relative."[3] This is not the traditional Yale way, and not the best way for most undergraduates, but the results in Woolsey's case were so good that they should make collegians today a little more charitable of the shy but gifted independent youth of much depth who prefers his own study in a quiet street to the more democratic and strenuous life of the Campus. Fortunately in the latter part of his course he emerged more from his seclusion, and entered heartily into the literary side of student life. College experiences were drawing him out of his shell. He had joined Brothers in Unity, and was one of the editors of a sprightly publication edited by some of its members, known as *The Talebearer,* which lasted longer than most new efforts in undergraduate journalism, seeing the light of day twenty-eight times.[4] It is clear from reading the records of Brothers that it did much to help in Woolsey's development. He took part in its debates, delivered before it an oration on "several advantages to be derived from contemplating nature," a dissertation on "The Personification of Allegory," and the Valedictory Address. This was on the "Effects of Scepticism." In it occurs this passage, indicative of some of the forces which molded his own college course:

> Remember then to obey precepts which the name of our society seems to enjoin, and preserve your unanimity. Remember that in these meetings your minds may be incited to exertion and especially that readiness of diction may be formed, which in every situation adds to other talents so much dignity and effect. . . . . After this time of pleasure (for a college life is pleasant) and we are dispersed over this wide country . . . . let no one of us forget a classmate.[5]

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 7.
[3] *Leonard Bacon, In Memoriam,* p. 226.
[4] For these and other interesting details regarding Woolsey's younger years, see the *Yale Review* for 1912, pp. 239-260.
[5] MS. volume giving Orations before the Society, pp. 67, 68, 72.

He also held various offices in this society, including those of secretary, senior critic, and president. In the latter position it was his duty to decide on the merits of the question under debate, subject to reversal of decision by the house. Woolsey seems to have made a marked impression by the judicious way in which he summed up arguments. The records speak for themselves: "The question for dispute was, 'Can the immortality of the soul be proved from the light of nature.' The dispute was protracted to considerable length, and much interest taken in it by the Society. The President gave a decision of great merit, which favored the affirmative. The Society coincided with his opinion."[6] The future President's own view came out distinctly in these decisions. As an example, take the debate on "Ought the fine arts to be extensively cultivated in the United States?": "The Pres. gave a lengthy decision in which he undertook to prove that the fine arts are beneficial to a nation, that they are not the cause of luxury, as is commonly supposed, but rather tend to destroy it; and that the literature of a country usually thrives . . . . with the fine arts; also that the fine arts are attended with refinement of manners. . . . ."[7] Would that there were more debates on such subjects in undergraduate circles today!

He was a manager of the Junior Exhibition, and united with some friends in forming a literary club. "In our senior year, as things then were, we had ample leisure to read and study for ourselves. Bacon and his room-mate, Chester Isham, Stoddard and Brockway, Twining and myself formed a club called the Hexahedron, which met once a week in turn at one of our three rooms and devoted an evening chiefly to the reading of English poetry and especially, if I remember aright, to the older poetry of our language."[8] There is no doubt but that this little club played a large part in the development of Woolsey and of several of his friends. It gave them a good opportunity for that interchange of opinion which helps a man to

[6] MS. Records Brothers in Unity, July 21, 1819.
[7] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1819.
[8] *Leonard Bacon, In Memoriam*, p. 226. See also under biography of Bacon.

find himself intellectually, and served to keep up their friendship after leaving college.

He graduated from Yale as Valedictorian, and took up the study of law—from a cultural rather than professional standpoint—in the office of Charles Chauncey, LL.D. (B.A. 1792), then one of the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar. Later, he spent two years at the Princeton Theological Seminary, having joined the College Church as a Senior. But he was called back to New Haven in 1823 by the offer of a tutorship, and finished his studies at the Yale Divinity School, which had begun to give instruction the previous year. He was licensed to preach, although not ordained until his election to the Yale presidency. In later life Woolsey was in the habit of saying that his term as tutor had "made a man of him,"[9] but the strain was a severe one,[10] as the problem of discipline was then no easy task.

His career from now on was divided between scholarship and educational leadership, and it is hard to say in which he was the more eminent. He was one of the earliest Americans to have the advantage of a thorough course of linguistic study in Europe.[11] He was abroad three years, devoting himself especially to the Greek language and literature, which he studied in France, Germany, and Italy, but mainly under the distinguished scholars of Leipsic, Bonn, and Berlin. These advantages were enjoyed to the full by the young student. He returned to America with a scientific equipment for his field of instruction not then equaled in America, with a deepened zeal for scholarship, and with broadened views of education.

In 1831 he was elected Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Yale College, and from that date, for over half a century, he remained prominently connected with the institution. The Faculty of the Academical Department then consisted of the President, six professors, and seven tutors. The professors were Silliman, Kingsley, Fitch, Goodrich, Olmsted, and Woolsey—each and all

[9] *Yale Review* for 1912, p. 251.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[11] For full account of these years, see *Yale Review* for 1912, pp. 453-470.

honored names in Yale history. Into this intellectual circle Woolsey entered with enthusiasm, and this enthusiasm was reproduced in his students. "They saw in him the true scholar, who had gained much for himself from the most beautiful of all languages, and they were impelled by the manifestation of his scholarly life, as well as by his daily instructions."[12] Many of his graduate students could agree with President Dwight in saying that "he was, of all the men I have ever seen, the one who most fully realized my ideal of a scholar."[13] Professor Woolsey soon saw that adequate teaching of the classics was impossible without better text books. He added to the accuracy and learning acquired in Germany a rare gift of literary expression, shown in his editions of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Plato's Dialogue of the Gorgias, which followed at close intervals in the decade beginning with 1834. These works were the standard in America in their time, and will never lose the respect of scholars. Yet his productive period as a Greek scholar was now mainly past, not because the fire had gone out or because the fuel was exhausted, but for the simple reason that he was elected President of the College in 1846, and the history of American education shows that it is well-nigh impossible for scholarship of a critical or research character to be carried on along with the successful performance of presidential duties.[14] He continued to write important books, but they represented now philosophical discussions of principles, rather than exact philological investigations, and there is a break of fifteen years before even these begin. Then came his authoritative work, *Introduction to the Study of International Law,* which has passed through many editions, followed by *Essays on Divorce and Divorce Legislation, Political Science, The Religion of the Present and the Future,* and other volumes. He was one of the founders of the *New Englander,* to which his contributions carried much weight, and he delivered addresses on various occasions, the most important being his admir-

[12] Dwight, *Memorial Address,* p. 12.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 22.
[14] President Harper is the most notable exception to this rule.

able *Historical Discourse,* delivered to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College.

His term as President was marked by a broadened curriculum (especially through his own instruction in history, political science, and international law), by more stringent educational requirements for admission and for promotion from one class to another, by a greater emphasis on scholarship and on the scholarly preparation required for Faculty appointments, by the beginnings of the modern Yale Campus, through the erection of Alumni, Farnam, and Durfee halls, and the Art School,[15] by the development of the Sheffield Scientific School (growing out of the Chemical Laboratory conducted in the old president's house[16] on the site of Farnam Hall), by the complete reorganization of the Divinity School—through the appointments of Professors Dwight, Fisher, Hoppin, and Day, and through the erection of East Divinity (Edwards) Hall,—by the organization in 1847 of the courses of graduate study in the "Department of Philosophy and the Arts," and the consequent beginnings of the German type of postgraduate work in America[17] through the creation of the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1860, by the establishment of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, by the admission of the alumni to formal representation on the Yale Corporation (a plan which the President himself originated),[18] by the increase of the unrestricted funds of the College, by the introduction of more refined standards of student life, and, in general, by a great advance in the prestige and influence of Yale as a seat of learning.[19]

After his resignation from the presidency, in 1871, Dr. Woolsey continued a member of the Yale Corporation until 1885. During

[15] See Introduction to chapter on Inventors and Artists.

[16] This house was erected in 1797-1799 and took the place of the earlier one built in 1722 out of £300 secured from the Colony's "Impost upon Rhum." See Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 259.

[17] "Certainly Yale and Sheffield are entitled to the credit of introducing among American institutions the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, demanding for it a high standard of attainments, and never bestowing the honor (not in a single case, so far as I can remember) by any irregular promotion." Gilman, *The Sheffield School of Yale University,* p. 26.

[18] See Woolsey's speech, *Yale Courant,* February 6, 1869.

[19] For an account of his presidency, see Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University,* pp. 65-80.

Theodore Dwight Woolsey

Class of 1820

his *Historical Discourse*, delivered to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College.

His term as President was marked by a broadened curriculum (especially through his own instruction in history, political science, and international law), by more stringent educational requirements for admission and for promotion from one class to another, by a greater emphasis on scholarship and on the scholarly preparation required for Faculty appointments, by the beginnings of the modern Yale Campus through the erection of Alumni, Farnam, and Durfee halls, and the Art School,[16] by the development of the Sheffield Scientific School (growing out of the Chemical Laboratory conducted in the "Old president's house" on the site of Farnam Hall), by the complete reorganization of the Divinity School—through the appointments of Professors Dwight, Fisher, Hoppin, and Day, and through the erection of East Divinity (Edwards) Hall,—by the extension in 1861 of the courses of graduate study in the "Department of Philosophy and the Arts," and the consequent beginnings of the German type of postgraduate work in America[17] through the creation of the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1860, by the establishment of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, by the admission of the alumni to formal representation on the Yale Corporation (a plan which the President himself originated),[18] by the increase of the investment funds of the College, by the introduction of more salient standards of student life, and, in general, by a great advance in the prestige and influence of Yale as a seat of learning.[19]

After his resignation from the presidency, in 1871, Dr. Woolsey continued a member of the Yale Corporation until 1885. During

[16] Alumni Hall was erected in 1863 and took the place of the earlier one built in 1722 and of which Dexter says that Edwards "himself must have known." See Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 358.

[17] Graduate work and facilities are pointed to as the result of introducing among American universities the higher or literary or philosophic standard of attainment (giving for it a high standard of attainment in some one case, so far as I can remember) by any American university. See *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, p. 26.

[18] See Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 358.

[19] See Woolsey, *Sketch of the History of Yale University*, pp. 25–26.

most of this period he devoted much of his time to the work of Bible revision, being considered the leader in this important task. He was chairman of the New Testament Company, having President Dwight (B.A. 1849) and Professor Hadley (q.v.) as colleagues in his work, while Professor George E. Day (B.A. 1833) was secretary of the joint American Revision Committee.

The memory of President Woolsey is one of the most precious heritages of the University. To have had a man combining his scholarship and culture prominently connected with Yale for five decades, is a blessing for which we should be devoutly thankful. He had erudition, breadth, and charm of personality. His life was marked by great dignity, and was actuated by the highest motives. Twenty-five hundred students secured their degrees during his administration, and there were few of them who were not better men because of what he said and was. They would almost unanimously agree that the designation "gentleman and scholar" could not be applied more appropriately than to him. His sermons in Battell Chapel were impressive, not because of any unusual magnetism in the preacher, but because the students realized that they were listening to a great and consecrated man, who, in spite of his majestic intellectual powers, had felt in his own life the need of religion.[20] They did not often have any feeling of real intimacy with him, but they knew that his reputation as a classical scholar and as a writer on law was international, and they saw that marks of public recognition[21] and his undisputed leadership in the University did not diminish his devotion to the virtues and ideals inherited from the best of the old New England stock. It could not be said that he was a typical Puritan. He was in many ways far from it. But he was true to the Puritans' fundamental devotion to religion and to education.

The following verse, from the Inaugural Ode by Francis Miles Finch (q.v.), sung at the inauguration of President Porter and the

[20] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, p. 137.
[21] Harvard University gave him both the D.D. and LL.D. degrees. He was a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution.

retirement of President Woolsey, shows the high regard in which the latter was held by the whole body of Yale graduates:

> One goes,—God bless him!—Toil and time
> He gave thro' the years with a faith sublime.
> He takes from these familiar realms
> More thanks than the leaves of the sorrowing elms.
> Yale! brothers, Yale! rose-red or pale,
> The light never fades from the skies of Yale.[22]

President Woolsey is well memorialized at Yale. His bust by St. Gaudens, in the Library, is a work of which the University may well be proud. There is a worthy statue of him by John Ferguson Weir on the old Campus, a painting in Woodbridge Hall, and a window in Battell Chapel. Woolsey Hall was named in his honor by the Corporation, and at the close of his administration, a University fund of about $170,000 was raised and given in his name. The Woolsey Professorship of Biblical Literature, and the Woolsey Scholarships—the latter his gift—also call to mind his connection with the University. *Theodore Dwight Woolsey, D.D., LL.D.*, a Memorial Address by President Dwight, is an important survey of his work and character. It is understood that a biography is in course of preparation by members of his family. Several of the chapters have appeared in the *Yale Review*.

First Sheet of President Woolsey's Yale Commemorative Address in 1850

The foundation of the College in 1700 at Branford by the ministers, who assembled for that purpose and brought together books for a library, its subsequent location at Saybrook, and the entire want of success of the College there in consequence of its poverty and of the inconveniences of the place I must compress at this time into the briefest possible statement. When a removal from Saybrook was determined, there were differences of opinion in regard to the future location of the College,—differences which agitated the whole Colony and decided its legislature in the years 1716 and 1717. The

[22] Finch, *The Blue and the Gray and Other Verses*, pp. 30-31.

question was whether it should continue to be seated on the coast, or should be transferred to Connecticut River to the capitol of the ancient Colony of Connecticut. The decision was in favor of New Haven; and the reasons which influenced the majority of the Trustees in selecting this place were partly of a sectional partly of a public nature. A large majority of the Trustees belonged to the maritime towns. New Haven had subscribed the largest sum of money for the College when its removal was pending. It is probable also that the wants of the Western Colonies to which it was of nearer access than either Hartford or Saybrook, were taken into view. The decision, though strenuously resisted for a time, was finally acquiesced in by all: and when the news of Governor Yale's donation was received in the summer of 1718 it added new weight to the decision of the Trustees, and supplied a name for the building, which they had just erected.

The manuscript is the first sheet from the commemorative address delivered by President Woolsey at Yale's "third jubilee," the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College. The part selected for quotation is interesting as it does not appear in the address as published, where a much longer section is introduced. This is explained by a printed footnote reading as follows: "The part of the address which follows this paragraph and ends with the election of Rector Clap was omitted in the delivery for want of time; and as was then stated to the audience a brief summary or table of contents was read in its place." The above is the "brief summary" referred to. This important manuscript dated July 27, 1850, was purchased by the author from a dealer in autographs. Such documents should always find their way ultimately to the University Library, which should some day have a large room devoted exclusively to Yale Memorabilia. In an appendix to the published address, the President refers with just pride to the Library with its 22,000 books, and to the total annual University budget of $23,000—figures which, however, seem small sixty years later when the Librarian's report shows almost a million volumes in possession of the University, and the Treasurer's report (1913) places the income available for regular expenses at $1,482,307.15. It is to be hoped that the next half century will show commensurate increases.

The published address, one of the most interesting of writings regarding the early history of the University, is entitled *An Historical Discourse pronounced before the Graduates of Yale College, August 14, 1850; One hundred and Fifty Years after the Founding of that Institution.*

As the address is not signed, a note of President Woolsey to his publishers is added in the Memorial Hall collection.

Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard

Class of 1828

Born, May 5, 1809; Died, April 27, 1889

President of Columbia University

President Barnard was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, being a son of Colonel Robert Barnard. He has given us this description of his entrance examinations to college:

> The applicants for admission were divided into squads of moderate numbers each. Mine consisted of eight victims besides myself. The examination was entirely oral, and was completed at a single session. One officer conducted the examination in all the subjects, while another sat by and looked on. My examiner was Professor Silliman, who, though Professor of Chemistry, took us up on Virgil, Cicero, the Greek Testament, Græca Minora, Xenophon, Geography, and Arithmetic, all apparently with equal facility.[1]

His Yale career was marked by high scholarship. He was early in his course recognized as a brilliant mathematician, easily the ablest in his class and perhaps in the College. He graduated as Salutatorian—then the second highest scholastic honor—being outranked only by Horace Binney, Jr., son of the eminent Philadelphia lawyer, who surpassed him in the classics. At the Junior Exhibition, of which he was one of the managers, he delivered an oration "on the influence of the female character on the poetry of an age"—a subject of some significance when it is realized that a half century later one of the leading women's colleges in the country was to be named after him, as a tribute to his interest in women's education. He has left some notes giving an interesting account of the two great intellectual factors in his undergraduate training—scholarship and debating. The section regarding the former is reproduced in full, being of special value as coming from one who was later a distinguished university president:

> The two or three years that followed my entrance into college were years of earnest and persevering labor; but although I was apparently surrounded by many

[1] Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard*, p. 32.

educational influences, and enjoying, or supposed to enjoy, the instruction of many eminent educators, it was to me a period of almost literal self-education. There were two reasons for this: The first is that no man at Yale who aspired to be ranked as a scholar was permitted by public opinion to obtain any assistance from any quarter whatever, even from his immediate tutor, in preparing himself for his daily scholastic exercises. He must stand up boldly before his class, relying on his own resources exclusively, and "take his chance." If he acquitted himself well, all honor was awarded him; if he "stuck" or "flunked," he lost caste in proportion to the gravity of the case. Scholastic rank in college depended, then, as literary or professional rank in the world depends always, upon the consensus of opinion of the community which sees and judges it. There was no such thing then as an artificial grade founded on numerical valuations of particular performances. A man's superiority was acknowledged because it was felt, not because he could point to a high "mark" on the term record. Every man was constrained to show what he was capable of doing without help, and for that reason students profited little from the aid of their instructors in meeting current difficulties. As a partial compensation, it was allowed to seek such aid when the ordeal had been met; but even then it did not tend to exalt the reputation of a scholar to avail himself of the privilege.

The other course, which seriously limited the magnitude of my apparent advantage, was that, according to the usages then prevailing at Yale, a student scarcely came into mental contact with a professor before his senior year. In the junior year, it is true, there were lectures from the Professors of Chemistry and Physics; but they were interjected into what were called the "study hours," the regular periodical exercises of the day not being interrupted on account of them. They added something to our knowledge, no doubt, but their proper educational influence was slight. Leaving these lectures out of view, the plan of operation was the following: Every class at entrance was broken up into divisions of about forty students each, and the tutor assigned to each division remained its sole instructor in all branches of study whatsoever to the end of the junior year. This tradition was first broken in the third year of my own class, when Professor Olmstead voluntarily relieved our tutor of his classes in mechanics and physics.

My section, or "division," as it was called, was placed at first under the care of Mr. Josiah Brewer,[2] who left us at the end of the first year to devote himself to a missionary life in Syria. He was succeeded by William M. Holland, Esq., a man of singular ability, afterwards a professor in Trinity College, Hartford, who passed away in the prime of life. To him I was indebted for many acts of kindness, and for more useful counsel and encouragement in my educational career than to any other of my instructors except Professor Olmstead, who treated me from the first with marked interest and, indeed, almost as a son. The President, Dr. Day, was a man of gentle and kindly heart, but grave in aspect and rather formal in deportment; and although he was regarded by the students generally with affection, it

[2] B.A. 1821, father of Justice Brewer (B.A. 1856), of United States Supreme Court.

was rather a reverential than a glowing affection. During our senior year he gave us instruction in psychology and in political economy, and without being brilliant, he was always interesting. Professor Silliman was universally admired. He had a wonderful command of language, and in his unwritten lectures on chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, there were frequent bursts of genuine eloquence.[3]

Barnard's reference to the tutorial system of the time is of special interest, because, when he himself returned to college as a tutor, he was instrumental in completely changing it. The time-honored custom had been for a class, or for a division of a class, to be assigned to an instructor who was responsible for practically all of the teaching of a group in all subjects during the first three years.[4] Barnard assisted his colleague, Horace Bushnell (q.v.), in introducing the principle of specialization. They secured the permission of the Faculty to divide the instructors according to subjects. Barnard took mathematics, in which he was specially interested. There was a slight loss in the intimacy of relationship between tutor and student, but this was more than counterbalanced by the increased efficiency of the teaching and the higher standards of scholarship which resulted.

The old debating societies of Yale were among the most potent factors of her influence in the first half of the nineteenth century. They supplied a forum for open debate that was intellectually stimulating, and gave ability in public speech an opportunity both to show itself and to develop, not equaled by the social system and the small debating organizations which succeeded them. They did much to train eminent public men, such as Evarts and Waite, but no graduate has felt under deeper obligations to them than Barnard:

As I look back upon it, no part of my training at Yale College seems to me to have been more beneficial than that which I derived from the practice of writing and speaking in the literary society to which I belonged. The general literary societies, open to students of all the classes, and numbering one or two hundred members each, were maintained at that time with great enthusiasm. . . . . It seems to me that, with the loss of her literary societies, half the glory of Yale has departed

[3] Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard*, pp. 33, 35.

[4] Prior to 1744, when President Clap took over the instruction of the Seniors, the President, or a tutor, carried the same students through all four years. See Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 515.

from her. In the old Linonia Hall[5] I spent many of the most profitable hours of my college life; and I heard debates there which for interest and brilliancy were equal to any at which I have since been privileged to be present in assemblies of much superior dignity. There were some men of my time who made no very serious struggle for grade scholarship, and yet would sometimes "come out strong" in the society. For the sake of students of this class, who will always be more or less numerous in every college, I should esteem it a great advantage if the old societies could be resuscitated.[6]

It was as an undergraduate that the study of the Book of Common Prayer, and of other works presented to him by college friends, so interested him in the Episcopal Church that he later took orders in it.

At the thirtieth anniversary of his graduation he was one of the speakers at the annual meeting of the Society of the Alumni. The concluding passage of his address on the occasion forms an eloquent tribute to the influence of his Alma Mater:

In conclusion, my thoughts revert to the point from which they started, to this venerable institution, which has contributed so abundantly to the creation of the influential class, whose high responsibilities I have been endeavoring to enforce. Hardly a seminary of learning in the country can boast a larger list of living alumni than this. Probably not one can justly claim to have done more, through her sons, for the enlightenment of the world, for the advancement of religion and morality, and for the encouragement of every species of philanthropic effort. Among your number, my brethren, are doubtless many, for whom, as for myself, the priceless teaching which we here enjoyed constituted the sole patrimony with which you entered upon life. Among you are many whose lives, like my own, have been devoted to the endeavor to transmit to others, according to your ability, the benefits which you here received. Such antecedents are peculiarly adapted to quicken our appreciation to-day, of the powerfully salutary influence which the mighty stream of cultivated intellect, ever here flowing forth into the world's great ocean, carries with it into the social life, and exercises over the public sentiment of its time. In the contemplation of this unceasing efflux, there is something deeply impressive, singularly beautiful, almost sublime. And when, after years of drifting over the face of the great deep, sometimes in cloud and tempest, sometimes in sunshine and calm, sometimes cheered by the companionship of congenial natures, and sometimes isolated amid a dreary waste of unsympathizing humanity, we come back here at last, and behold the mighty stream still flowing on, it is this unfailing constancy which, among a thousand exciting associations, most forcibly arrests our attention,

[5] In the south wing of the old Library.
[6] Fulton, *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard*, p. 36.

and we almost forget to magnify the beneficence of the stream, in our admiration of its steadiness. We too were drops in this stream. To ourselves we may have seemed to form no insignificant portion of its volume. It swept us out into the wide ocean and remained no less full than before.[7]

After his term as tutor at Yale he taught for several years in the Deaf and Dumb Asylums of Hartford and New York. He then served for a decade as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of Alabama, and later in a similar capacity at the University of Mississippi, of which he was for several years President. In 1864 came the call to the presidency of Columbia University, an opportunity which could not be declined. It gave ample scope for his large abilities as an educator. Under his administration the local college was so transformed that the foundations of a national university were securely laid. The development of the School of Mines, which has added such prestige to the institution, was largely his work. He is permanently memorialized at Columbia by various funds and prizes, and in the name of Barnard College. This grew out of plans for the higher education of women which he earnestly advocated as early as 1879. His particular services to Columbia are thus referred to in a minute adopted at a memorial meeting of the alumni:

In 1864, at the date of Dr. Barnard's accession to the Presidency, the College was at a critical period of its history. It was ready for development and had begun to develop. . . . . He quickened into organic life the School of Mines; he gave vitalizing force to the extension and liberalization of the undergraduate course, to the founding of fellowships for the encouragement and assistance in their higher studies of earnest and able young men, to the extension of the Library and the liberalization of its management, to the project of a course for the higher study of political and historical subjects, and to the scheme for a broad and liberal system of postgraduate or University instruction, which the College had long but vainly desired. In brief he gave Columbia College a new life and a new significance, and by his commanding position in many learned societies, by the force and elegance of his published writings, scientific, literary, legal, political, educational, and by his wide acquaintance with the foremost men of his time, he attracted attention to the College and did much to interest the community at large in it.[8]

[7] *American Journal of Education*, Vol. V, p. 723.
[8] *A History of Columbia University*, 1754-1904, p. 150.

That these resolutions also reflect faithfully the importance of the position which he held in the world of science and letters, is shown by the fact that he served as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the American Institute, and that he was a charter member of the National Academy of Sciences. He received the Doctorate of Laws from Yale, the Doctorate of Literature from the Regents of the University of the State of New York, the Doctorate of Divinity from the University of Mississippi, and the Doctorate of Civil Law from King's College, Nova Scotia—an unusually varied group of academic honors.

His publications included the *History of the United States Coast Survey, Recent Progress of Science,* and *Letters on Collegiate Government.* He was a frequent contributor to two journals of national significance, both edited by Yale men: *The American Journal of Science* and the *American Journal of Education.* See *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard* . . . . by John Fulton.

Saratoga Springs,
Aug. 9, 1872

My dear Sir,

You have missed a good thing. We had the Metric Battle over again in Convocation, two days ago: or rather, we had a lively skirmish, for the enemy, alarmed at the aspect of things, finally declined battle and sued for an armistice. . . . . Davies, who is now laboring with all his might, to force the Convocation into a vote sustaining him, without any regard to the substantial merits of the question, or even his own interior convictions (for I have not the slightest doubt that he would give all the old back he has got to be on the other side) has resorted this time to a kind of sharp practise bordering on meanness, and has been defeated.

It is now about three weeks since he informed Thomson (of minority) that he had a report which was an *answer to Dr. Barnard;* inviting Thomson to meet him here (at Saratoga) at the annual Teachers Convention. . . . . Our adverse opinion in regard to the metric system will do no more to arrest the movement which makes its ultimate adoption inevitable, than a clam shell held in the cataract of Niagara would do to turn the river up stream. But it *will* have power to do something else. It will have power to place ourselves in

a light exceedingly equivocal, if not ridiculous. This subject has been considered and pronounced upon by a great many organized bodies, chambers of commerce, scientific societies, social science associations, international conferences, statistical congresses—say a hundred or so, more or less—in countries metric & non metric the world over—and all of them without a solitary exception, have pronounced with earnest conviction on the other side. . . . .

Yours Truly,

F. A. P. Barnard

Mr. S. B. Ruggles.

This letter is characteristic of President Barnard's progressiveness. It recalls the fierce struggles of the seventies over the endorsement of the metric system.[9] Dr. Barnard, who published a book in 1871 entitled *The Metric System,* was one of its strongest and most active American supporters, while the opposition to his proposals in its favor, before the New York State Teachers' Convention, was led by Professor Charles Davies, at that time emeritus Professor of Mathematics at Columbia, and by James Thomson (B.A. 1834), an author of mathematical text books. These two worthy gentlemen are handled rather harshly by Dr. Barnard in the unprinted portions of the letter.

[9] Professor Newton's part in this movement is described in his biography.

Henry Barnard

Class of 1830

Born, January 24, 1811; Died, July 5, 1900

Founder of the American Journal of Education and First United States Commissioner of Education

Dr. Barnard's name is inseparably associated with that of Horace Mann in the upbuilding of the American public school system. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and was prepared for Yale College at the Monson, Massachusetts, Academy, and at the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven. In college he was a high scholar, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. He secured prizes in English and in Latin Composition, and interested himself especially in the study of classical literature and history. He proved himself a competent debater, being much interested in Linonia, of which he was President, and to which in later years he made generous gifts of books. A drama which he prepared was read before this society and met with high commendation. At the Junior Exhibition he delivered a Dissertation "On the comparative influence of the Christian religion and the heathen mythologies on the spirit of poetry." He acted, during Junior and Senior years, as an assistant to the librarian of Linonia, gaining an experience in bibliography that was of special value in his later literary work.[1] It was characteristic of him that he returned in books the amount of his compensation for this service. The interests and advantages of his college course were mainly on the intellectual side, but were not confined to the curriculum. In fact in later life he considered the mental discipline of his literary and debating society as in some ways the greatest single factor in his Yale education.[2] He also gained much from his outside reading, appreciating, as he did to the full, the advantages of the libraries. Of his devotion to the

[1] Monroe, *The Educational Labors of Henry Barnard*, p. 9.
[2] Cf. *Report of United States Commissioner of Education*, 1896-1897, Chapter XVI, p. 772.

College, the following letter, written by his daughter in 1910, when sending her father's class records to the Yale Library, is evidence: "Yale never had a more loyal or loving son than my father, his college friends of seventy years ago were his intimate friends till their deaths, and Yale interests were his interests always. It was a bitter disappointment to him that he was too ill in June to go to the Alumni Meeting (his seventieth anniversary) as he had done for so many years. . . . . The last time he left home was to go to President Hadley's inauguration."[3]

After graduation, he taught school, studied law at Yale, and was admitted to the Bar. He then served for several years in the Connecticut Legislature, where his work in behalf of state education and philanthropy was conspicuous. He was mainly responsible for legislation which brought about a reorganization of the school administration of the state, providing for a central board of commissioners, with an executive officer known merely as the secretary, but with duties corresponding nearly to those of superintendent of education in other states. For this position his own choice was Dr. Gallaudet (q.v.), the well-known pioneer in deaf-mute instruction, but the latter refused to serve, and public opinion pointed to young Barnard as the man best fitted to place the schools of the state on a better footing. Their condition at this time is shown by the legislative report of 1837. Only one-fourth of the twelve hundred schoolhouses were considered suitable for their purpose, not a dozen had a library and good teaching apparatus. There was no pretense of any professional training for teachers, and less than one-fourth of them continued in the same school for over a year.[4] Horace Mann, whose services to the cause of general public education in America have alone exceeded those of Henry Barnard, thus expressed himself as to the changes which the latter brought about during his first term as secretary:

[3] MS. letter inserted in Library copy of *Memorial of Class of 1830.*

[4] *Report of United States Commissioner of Education,* 1896-1897, Chapter XVI, pp. 772-780, by Rev. A. D. Mayo.

The cold torpidity of the State soon felt the sensations of returning vitality. Its half-suspended animation began to quicken with a warmer life. Much and most valuable information was diffused. Many parents began to appreciate more adequately what it was to be a parent; teachers were awakened; associations for mutual improvement were formed; system began to supersede confusion; some salutary laws were enacted; all things gave favorable augury of a prosperous career, and it may be further affirmed that the cause was so administered as to give occasion of offence to no one. The whole movement was kept aloof from political strife. All religious men had reason to rejoice that a higher tone of moral and religious feeling was making its way into schools, without giving occasion of jealousy to the one-sided views of any denomination.[5]

This testimony, reconsidered in the perspective of half a century, does not seem exaggerated. He awoke Connecticut, and through it many other states, to a new conception of the part to be played by the common school in the development of American citizenship. Here is a fine quotation from his compelling speech before the legislature on behalf of the new law of 1838:

In America, at least, no man can live for himself alone. Individual happiness is here bound up with the greatest good of the greatest number. Every man must at once make himself as good and as influential as he can and help, at the same time, to make everybody about him and all whom he can reach better and happier. The common school should no longer be regarded as common because it is cheap, inferior, and attended only by the poor and those who are indifferent to the education of the children, but common as the light and the air, because its blessings are open to all and enjoyed by all. That day will come. For me, I mean to enjoy the satisfaction of the labor, let who will enter into the harvest.[6]

This is an utterance thoroughly characteristic of the man. It was largely because of this note of consecration to a sacred cause that he was successful in re-creating the system of public education in Connecticut, and in reviving throughout the country an interest in the common schools. Barnard's first report to the legislature (1839) is a classic in the history of secondary education in America, pointing out clearly the strong and weak points in the then existing system. It was this report that brought out Chancellor Kent's tribute: "It is a bold and startling document, founded on the most painstaking and

[5] *Massachusetts Common School Journal*, quoted by Monroe, p. 13.
[6] *Report of United States Commissioner of Education*, 1896-1897, p. 777.

critical inquiry, and contains a minute, accurate, comprehensive, and instructive exhibition of the practical condition and operation of the common school system of education."[7]

Mr. Barnard was specially influential in improving the planning and construction of schoolhouses, in developing high schools, in grading the schools systematically, and in encouraging teachers' institutes, where everything pertaining to public education was discussed. His four years' service was not liked by some of the politicians, and he was forced out of office; but the teachers, and the good citizens generally, realized that with Barnard had come a new day for Connecticut. From 1843 to 1849, as school commissioner of Rhode Island, he secured public taxation for educational purposes, a right which had been denied for two hundred years,[8] and repeated the work that he had done in Connecticut. At the close of his six years' service, President Wayland of Brown University stated that the improvement of public school conditions in his state "is to be ascribed to the labors of Henry Barnard more than to any other cause."

In the mean time his native state realized the extent of her loss and called him back. This was in 1850. He continued with enthusiasm and intelligence the work he had begun thirteen years before. He had the satisfaction of seeing every provision which he had earlier drafted for the schools, and which had been stricken out in 1842, restored. Among his important new achievements was the establishment of the State Normal School in New Britain—one of Barnard's pet projects, as it was to lay the foundations for a thoroughly trained body of teachers for the commonwealth. Horace Bushnell (q.v.), who, with Professor Noah Porter (q.v.) and Governor William Ellsworth (B.A. 1810), had been among his main supporters in bringing about educational reform in the state, made a significant address at the opening of the new building. In it is this interesting biographical reference to Barnard:

[7] Monroe, *The Educational Labors of Henry Barnard*, p. 14.
[8] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. I, p. 168.

I remember, with fresh interest, to-day, how my talented friend, who has most reason of all to rejoice in the festivities of this occasion, consulted with me, thirteen years ago, in regard to his plans of life; raising, in particular, the question, whether he should give himself wholly and finally to the cause of public schools. I knew his motives, the growing distaste he had for political life, in which he was already embarked, with prospects of success, and the desire he felt to occupy some field more immediately and simply beneficient. He made his choice; and now, after encountering years of untoward hinderance here, winning golden opinions, meantime, from every other state in the republic, and from ministers of education from almost every nation in the old world, by his thoroughly practical understanding of all that pertains to the subject; after raising, also, into vigorous action, the school system of another State, and setting it forward in a tide of progress, he returns to the scene of his beginnings, and permits us here to congratulate him and ourselves in the prospect that his original choice and purpose are to be fulfilled. He has our confidence; we are to have his ripe experience.[9]

Barnard's work was now receiving broad attention. He was looked up to as a leader among schoolmen the country over. He had conducted successful state papers devoted to the cause of public education, but there was an opportunity for a review that would be national in scope. Accordingly, in 1855, he established the *American Journal of Education.* It is interesting, in view of the unique influence of this publication on American educational history, to read a quotation from the first circular announcing the venture:

In the great educational movement now going forward on this continent, and especially throughout all the States in which the English language prevails, there has seemed for many years to the undersigned to exist, if not a demand, at least the want of not only an American association of the friends of universal education, but also of a series of publications which should, on the one hand, embody the mature views and varied experience of wise statesmen, educators, and teachers in perfecting the organization, administration, instruction, and discipline of schools of every grade through a succession of years, under widely varying circumstances of government, society and religion; and on the other hand, expose real deficiencies, excite to prudent and efficient action, and serve as a medium of free and frequent communication between the friends of education in every portion of these great fields.[10]

It is no exaggeration to say that this publication proved of the utmost national importance in improving American school conditions. Its

[9] *American Journal of Education,* Vol. X, 1861, from advertisement on cover.
[10] *Report of United States Commissioner of Education,* 1896-1897, p. 806.

success was due to Barnard—in the final analysis to Barnard alone. It is a vast storehouse of information—historical, biographical, theoretical, and practical—dealing with the subject of education, with special reference to public schools and their improvement. When the *Westminster Review* stated that "England has as yet nothing in the same field worthy of comparison with it," it was telling the plain truth. President Gilman's testimony, in 1876, coming from an intimate student of American educational conditions, is even more significant: "It is the best and only general authority in respect to the progress of American education during the past century. The comprehensiveness of this work and its persistent publication under many adverse circumstances, entitle the editor to the grateful recognition of all investigators of our system of instruction."[11] It is a striking evidence of the value of this monumental work that the demand for it continues to be so persistent that a reprint has recently been published in New York.

Dr. Barnard held many important positions after leaving Connecticut. He was for two years President of the University of Wisconsin, and was largely instrumental in laying wise foundations for the remarkably democratic and efficient system of public education in that state. For a similar period he was President of St. John's College in Maryland, and from 1867 to 1870, he was the first United States Commissioner of Education. Here he did constructive work of great importance, and it should not be forgotten that the need of this government post was first brought effectively to public attention by Barnard, in 1854, when he presented his "plan of a central agency for the advancement of education in the United States."[12] Significant as were his labors in all of these positions, yet it was through the *American Journal of Education,* which he continued to edit, that his most far-reaching work for his generation was accomplished. His own printed contributions were of value because of their scholarship,

[11] *North American Review* for January, 1876. Quoted by Monroe, p. 31.
[12] *Report of United States Commissioner of Education.* 1896-1897, p. 800.

their breadth, their common sense, and their high idealism. They were collected, in 1886, in fifty-two volumes, under the title of *The American Library of Schools and Education.* These included eight hundred separate treatises on such subjects as "School Architecture," "Education and Employment of Children in Factories," "History of Education in Connecticut" (a work of permanent importance), "Technical and Scientific Education," "Elementary and Secondary Education in Switzerland, France, and Belgium," "German Teachers and Educational Reformers," etc. These titles will serve to indicate the breadth of Dr. Barnard's interests. His journal served both as an inspirer and instructor of the American public in general, and of its school teachers in particular, on the subject of public education, for a third of a century. Its influence for good can hardly be overestimated. It is not strange that even in the early days of his work as an editor, a magazine, representative as an exponent of opinion among teachers, stated that his career "as a promoter of the cause of education, has no precedent, and is without a parallel."[13] If this was true in 1858, it was even more true twenty years later, when "Barnard's Journal" had become a well-established institution, of great value in creating a broad and sane public educational policy, especially in the Western states, which were settled so rapidly in the period after the Civil War.

But Barnard's work was not confined to the editorial chair and the administrative office. He was an earnest platform advocate of education in many states. In the year after the close of his first term in Connecticut, he held conferences in fifty towns, and addressed ten legislatures. In fact, for over half a century, his working time may be said to have been continuously given to advancing the cause of public instruction. Even his trips to Europe were mainly taken up with acquiring information which he might bring to bear on educational problems at home. These words, uttered at the outset of his career as a leader in the movement for the improvement of the common

[13] *Massachusetts Teacher,* January, 1858.

HENRY BARNARD

CLASS OF 1830

schools, could be taken as his motto to his dying day: "So far back as I have any recollection, the cause of true education—of the complete education of every human being without regard to the accidents of birth or fortune—seemed most worthy of the consecration of all my powers, and, if need be, of any sacrifice of time, money, and labor which I might be called upon to make in its behalf."[14]

Harvard, Yale, Union, and Columbia, all gave Barnard their highest academic honors. His Alma Mater called him back as Phi Beta Kappa Orator, in 1845, and, in 1856, he made an important address at the Alumni Meeting in Commencement week on "The Projected School of Science." At the Bicentennial, President Northrop (B.A. 1857), whose long experience in the Northwest prevented his taking an exaggerated Connecticut viewpoint, paid Barnard's memory this tribute:

> Foremost among these [Yale educational leaders], worthy to be classed with Horace Mann in consideration of the originality of his plans and the extended scope of his work, was Henry Barnard of the class of 1830, who closed his long career of usefulness in this first year of the twentieth century—a man whose influence upon the schools and the secondary education of the country was so pronounced that the largest educational convention of the year, with its ten thousand teachers from all parts of the country, fitly paused in its deliberations to celebrate at one entire session the remarkable achievements of this distinguished educator. He was a man of original ideas. He believed in progress. He never rested satisfied with what most of the world was ready to accept as the ultimate attainment. For him there was always something better further on; and the great army of educators, good and bad alike, were compelled at last to follow his leading.[15]

These words were well deserved. Never has public education had a more ardent supporter. He consecrated his every ability to the cause, and threw himself into it with a combination of scholarship and earnestness that was compelling. He lived to the good old age of threescore years and ten, and died poor in this world's goods, but rich in the consciousness of having rendered yeoman's service to that most fundamental of the functions of democracy—public education.

There is no memorial of Barnard at Yale. The new public

[14] *Report of United States Commissioner of Education*, 1896-1897, p. 777.
[15] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, pp. 309, 310.

school in New Haven, on Derby Avenue near the Yale Field, has been named in his honor, and there is a movement under way to erect a monument to him at the State House in Hartford. It would be specially fitting if a professorship of education at the University could be named after him, both because of his own work, and because over half a century ago he presented to the Yale Corporation a memorial on the need of such a chair. His plan was for a professorship of the "Art of Teaching."[16] The communication was unfortunately laid on the table, and there it remained. An adequate critical biography of Dr. Barnard is a desideratum. The most valuable sketches which have appeared are *Henry Barnard,* by Rev. A. D. Mayo, in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education* for 1896-1897, and W. S. Monroe's *The Educational Labors of Henry Barnard.*

Hartford Ct
19 Sept 63

My dear Sir,

I have not the least doubt that "Catechising" was an essential feature in church & school instruction of New England—as it was of the schools in England & the Continent—Catholic & Protestant—& I wish some one would trace the system back through the various text books or manuals which have been used at different times—but I wish to get at some authority for stating that a *particular book* was used in the schools of a particular place at a particular period.

My opinion is we give our early schools much more credit than they deserve, for positive religious instruction, except on Saturday forenoon, or in some places, on afternoons of some other day in the week—and one of these days, I hope to bring together some scattered memoranda on this & other points of our early New England schools & school books—but I wish you would furnish me any references you may have for *precise* information—the dry bones, which we will try to clothe with life again.

My belief is that Richard Mather's "Catechism" was never used to much extent in the schools of New England out of Dorchester.

Yours Truly,

Henry Barnard.

[16] MS. Yale Corporation Records for August 15, 1858, p. 202.

This letter refers to the earliest book used in New England for the teaching of children—the catechism. In their original contract with the Massachusetts Bay Company, the ministers agreed "to teach and catechize the Company's servants and their children, as also the Savages and their children." In 1629 the Company voted to spend three shillings for the necessary books, and from that time on for about two centuries, the catechism was a strong factor in public education. In 1641 the General Court "desired that the elders would make a catechisme for the instruction of youth in the ground of religion."[17] Many ministers responded, among them, Richard Mather (referred to in Barnard's letter), who was the pastor at Dorchester from 1636 to 1669.

[17] Littlefield, *Early Schools and School-Books of New England*, pp. 105, 107.

Daniel Coit Gilman

Class of 1852

Born, July 6, 1831; Died, October 13, 1908
First President of Johns Hopkins University

President Gilman was born of excellent New England stock, in Norwich, Connecticut, but removed to New York City in his fourteenth year. He served for a time as a clerk in his father's mercantile house, and prepared for college under Dr. John J. Owen, a well-known classical scholar. In a letter to his father, written soon after reaching New Haven, he speaks of his delight at the successful passing of his entrance examinations: "The dreaded examination has passed and I have no more fears on that score. After two sessions of about five hours I received the usual certificate, and was surprised that I was not 'conditioned,' as I fully expected to be. I am greatly relieved. It seems as though a heavy load was removed, and I felt almost as free as the wind. I am sure if home had been within ten miles I should have set out for it on the full run this afternoon."[1]

During his college course he lived with the family of his uncle, Professor James L. Kingsley (q.v.), whose character and culture were strong factors in his development, as were also the opportunities for meeting at his home, in an intimate way, the members of the Faculty. His career as an undergraduate was characteristic of the best Yale tradition—he made scholarship and literary culture his main interest, but entered heartily into the broad life of the student community. "And so they go, day after day, week after week; there is a good deal of variety, a good deal of merriment, a good deal of pleasure, a good deal of trouble, and, more than all, a good deal of hard work at study."[2] His general scholarship is shown by the fact that he was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, his literary

[1] Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman*, p. 8.
[2] From letter home. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

capacity by his being an editor of the *Yale Literary Magazine,* and his standing among his fellows by his election to the oldest of the Senior societies, and to the presidency of Linonia. He was also interested in the leading musical club of the time—the Beethoven Society—and in one of the boat clubs—the Atalanta, of which he was purser.[3] He taught a Sunday school class throughout his course. His name is still handed down in college circles as the founder of the "Memorabilia" department of the "Lit.," which the writer has found useful in supplying data regarding the undergraduate careers of Yale men after the middle of the last century. This was established "to retain a record of the Present and bring back a Record of the Past."[4] In his Senior year he became chairman of the Board of Editors, and many essays from his pen are preserved in the pages of this oldest of American college magazines. Of these the most interesting for our purposes is an article entitled "The Claims of Yale College to the Regard of its Students." It was an oration delivered before the Linonian Society, the members of Brothers and Calliope being also present by invitation. He refers to the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College, which had just taken place, and continues:

> It is not merely on state-occasions like this, that the love of Yale displays itself, but graduates and undergraduates exhibit it in a thousand different ways. Behold the former returning statedly in such numbers to their various class-meetings, ten, thirty, and even fifty years from graduation, and whether present or absent delighted to hear of the welfare of Yale, and eager to speak her praises. What makes the jurist tired and weary with his public life, return to the Academic shades, and stroll around to find the faces of those who once knew him and the places he once knew? What makes the Reveries of a Bachelor turn back to college as "the noon" of his life? What makes the poet linger here for inspiration and find it in these college haunts? Behold the undergraduates, moreover, possessed of an *esprit du corps* which makes them all desire to aid, befriend and counsel one another, to preserve memorials of college life, and when the day of parting comes, to part with real fraternal feelings. Tell me, both graduates and undergraduates, is it not true that the simple words "Yale College" are always enough to draw your immediate attention? When away from this place, let the dryest speaker but introduce Yale College, and do you not instantly give heed? If you meet the words in the dullest

[3] Cf. *Johns Hopkins University Circular,* No. 10, p. 51.
[4] *Yale Literary Magazine,* Vol. XVI, p. 281.

book, or see them in an ultra paper of the ne-plus-ultra stamp, do they not serve as an instant catchword, and are you satisfied until you know why your Alma Mater has been thus alluded to?

Are not your sympathies more easily awakened for one in public life, whose name may be found on the triennial? and do you not lament a death more keenly, because the life was past at Yale, and the number of your brothers therefore has been lessened? Yes, I am sure you all will bear me witness, that Yale College is to your hearts the magic "Open Sesame!" of the eastern tale, the countersign to which your sentinel gives instant heed. Men who have been educated here, may seal their hearts against the stranger's approach—they may firmly lock with "permutation fastenings" each entrance to their feelings, but if you wish to know what arrangement of the letters of the key will fling back the bolts and open wide the door, you will see it in the four which form that suggestive and potent word of *Yale!*[5]

To make Gilman's undergraduate record fairly complete it should be added that he took part in the Junior Exhibition, when his subject was "The Poetical in Our College Life," and that in Senior year he won a Townsend Prize for his essay on "The Moral Element in True Greatness."[6]

What are now called "extra curriculum activities" interested him, and he was prominent in them, but he never allowed anything to interfere with his regular college work. In Junior year he wrote, "I am more interested in my studies than ever before, particularly in Mathematics," while as a Senior he threw himself heartily into surveying, astronomy, optics, logic, and ancient history, writing that all of these studies appealed to him, and that he had "never before taken so much interest in entering enthusiastically into all the College requirements."[7] His intellectual ambitions were being more and more stimulated as his college life advanced. It could be said of him, as it should be possible to say of every undergraduate, that he found keen pleasure in the broadening knowledge and mental discipline which his studies afforded. His scholarship was good but not brilliant. He was assigned a Dissertation at Commencement, when his subject was "Anæsthesia." He helped somewhat towards his self-

[5] *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XVII, pp. 44, 45.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 329.
[7] Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman*, p. 10.

support, his remunerative occupations including the engrossing of names on college diplomas. He was deeply respected and thoroughly liked by his classmates. One of them has given us an attractive picture of his character at this time:

> In his college course at Yale, those of us who knew him best noticed in him a delicacy of speech and conduct, not so much the effect of an acute conscience, which may co-exist with much frailty, as of an inbred habitual freedom from temptation to vice. We can hardly imagine our Gilman enslaved by the devils of appetite and passion that drag so many gifted men down.
>
> His classmates must have noticed, too, in his demeanor an unusual grace and poise, a mind earnest yet calm, judicial, never intensely partisan, interested in all that was good, yet never impatient to reform the world in a day, a year, or a decade, nor carried away, as some of us were in danger of being, by youthful excitement.[8]

College opportunities, associations, and friendships were appreciated to the full by Gilman, and had a deep influence upon him. In spite of his connection with other universities in later life, he always remained a devoted and loyal son of Yale, and attributed much of his success in educational leadership "to early and repeated draughts upon the life-giving springs of New Haven."[9] We may fittingly close this account of his undergraduate career by a quotation from a letter written by his life-long friend, Andrew D. White (B.A. 1853):

> I first saw Daniel just after my entrance at Yale in 1851, he being then a member of the Junior class and I a Sophomore. It was in the Linonian Society, which was then in all its glory,—the oldest and probably the best debating club in the United States. I was at the time awaiting the beginning of a debate with fear and trembling. . . . . But just then there entered the room a committee to make a report, and as the matter was one of special privilege, the report was made at once. The chairman was announced as "Mr. Gilman." Large, quiet, kindly, entirely given to the business in hand, and without the slightest embarrassment in addressing the assembly, his appearance drew me at once out of my distress, both for myself and for the Freshman. All else was forgotten in my admiration for this member of the Junior class, and I at once conceived a boyish admiration for him. He seemed to me a natural leader of men, earnest, sincere, vigorous, entering into the business in hand as a master. When the debate was resumed his presence seemed to have exercised a happy influence.[10]

[8] Sprague, *Daniel Coit Gilman*, p. 1.
[9] Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman*, p. 109.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 322.

After a year spent at Yale and Harvard in graduate study and literary work, Gilman and his college friend quoted above went abroad together as attachés to the legation in Russia. He also studied at the University of Berlin, and traveled extensively, getting all possible advantage from his two years in Europe. On returning, he devoted a decade and a half to Yale University—a period in which he proved himself to be a veritable engine of helpful activity in many lines. He interested himself in the public schools, was recruiting sergeant of "Norton's Cadets" (a company composed of members of the Faculty and graduates, raised at the time of the war by Professor Norton), coöperated in laying the foundations of the Art School, and played a leading part in securing the legislation of 1871, which gave the alumni direct representation on the Yale Corporation. But it was in broadening the usefulness of the Library, that he, as Librarian, with the help of a single assistant, whom he paid from his own salary, rendered the most conspicuous service.[11] The Gilman Fund is a permanent reminder of his work in this department. During the later years he was Professor of Physical and Political Geography in the Sheffield Scientific School, of whose Board of Trustees he was one of the incorporators. His services in making this department of the University a broad, scientific institution, rather than a purely technical school, were conspicuous, and his interest in it was well shown by the address which he delivered at its semi-centennial, October 27, 1897. But his devotion to the Sheffield Scientific School was not exceeded by his loyalty to the broader interests of the University of which it was a part. He delivered at the Bicentennial a memorable address on "Yale in its Relation to Science and Letters." In it he quoted Maeterlinck's words regarding the beehive, and added this description of the spirit of the institution: "The spirit of Yale, a mysterious and subtle influence, is the spirit of the hive—intelligence, industry, order, obedience, community, living for others, not for one's self, the greatest happi-

[11] For these and other details, see Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman, passim.*

ness in the utmost service. Virgil's words are on the hive—*Sic vos non vobis.*"[12]

Dr. Gilman left Yale in 1872 to accept the presidency of the University of California—an institution whose first President, Henry Durant (q.v.), was a Yale man, and which has always had intimate relations with its eastern sister,—but his departure from New Haven did not in any way interfere with his deep interest in his Alma Mater.

In 1875 he began his quarter century as first President of Johns Hopkins University—a service of national importance to the cause of higher education. Professor Basil Gildersleeve, in his memorial address on President Gilman, thus spoke of his preparation for this new task, and of its significance:

> To the crowning achievement of his life, to the organization of this school, by which men date a new era in the history of American education, converged as to a centre all the lines of his earlier activities. It was for this in the Providence of God that he was imbued with the noble traditions of a great college, that he was brought into contact with the scientific and social life of Europe, that he made himself familiar with the work of the librarian, that he mastered the system of public education, that he discharged the active duties of a professorship, that he planned the machinery of a great scientific school, that he served as a head of a great university. The preparation for the supreme task of his life was as elaborate as his personal endowments were rare; and from the centre thus gained there went forth a radiation of beneficent influences that were felt in every part of the community and the country.[13]

President Gilman's mind was set on one supreme task, in which his Trustees followed him—the development in America of a true university in which emphasis was to be laid on the highest grade of postgraduate work. This task was successfully accomplished. He gathered about him a group of men of exceptional ability, such as Sylvester, Rowland, Gildersleeve, Remsen, and Dr. William H. Welch (B.A. 1870), and gave them a large degree of independence. They knew that if they would live up to his motto for them, "Do your best work,"[14] there would be no complaint; and there was none. A

[12] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 358.
[13] *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, 1908, No. 10, p. 32.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

spirit of research, and of the highest intellectual ideals, pervaded the new university, which, from the first, attracted the best type of graduate student. Dr. Gilman was the inspiring force behind all the development. He was an able administrator—far-seeing, tactful, energetic, and broad-minded. Although not himself a conspicuous scholar, his vision of the nation's educational needs was so clear, and his appreciation of scholarship so profound, that graduate work in general, and medical training in particular, have a new meaning in America because of the ideals incorporated in the university which he planned. The permanent significance of this work was well summed up by President Low, of Columbia:

> I avail myself of this opportunity, however, to say that, in my judgment, Dr. Gilman's influence upon the higher education in the United States was so fruitful that he will be permanently remembered as one of America's greatest educators. It was said of Augustus that he found Rome brick and left it of marble. With equal truth, it may be said of Dr. Gilman that he found the United States a land of colleges that gave to men a broadening education, and he left it a land of universities, also, that train specialists as well as they can be trained anywhere in the world, in every department of human knowledge.[15]

During the term of his presidency, Dr. Gilman was an ideal citizen, and continued such to his death. He was active in the establishment and management of local philanthropies, was a member of the school board, and was on the commission to draft a new city charter. But his citizenship was national as well as local. He was one of a Yale majority of three on President Cleveland's Venezuelan Commission,[16] was a trustee of the Slater and Peabody Funds for education in the South, and of the Russell Sage Foundation, and was one of the incorporators of the General Education Board. He served as President of the American Oriental Society, of the American Bible Society, and of the National Civil Service Reform League; and when he had reached the good age of threescore years and ten, and was entitled to rest after his resignation from Johns Hopkins University, he accepted the presidency of the Carnegie Foundation, and devoted

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[16] Justice Brewer (B.A. 1856), Andrew D. White (B.A. 1853). The other members were Judge Alvey and Mr. Frederick Coudert.

three years of earnest work to establishing its methods of operation for "the advancement of teaching" in America.

Surely here was a national educator, a national philanthropist, and a national citizen. No wonder that Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, North Carolina, St. John's College (Maryland), Toronto, Wisconsin, William and Mary, and Clark, representing all sections of the country, desired to have him on their roll of honorary graduates as Doctor of Laws. He was a man of broad vision as to the needs of the nation, and he gladly consecrated his executive ability, his experience, his culture, and his energy, to meeting those needs, especially in the field of higher education. His work at Johns Hopkins was not only the creation of a great university, but the setting of standards of scholarship in graduate study. These have been reproduced in other institutions, largely as a result of the vision which he realized in Baltimore. The Doctorate of Philosophy in America was first given in New Haven in 1861, and Yale may well share in the increased reputation which has come to American scholarship because of the distinguished success of one of her sons in building up a university centered around work for this degree. As to the spirit which prompted his arduous labors, Andrew D. White paid this tribute: "I have known him well ever since we were fellow students at Yale, fifty-five years ago, and I have never known a day during that whole period when his thoughts were not upon some enterprise for the good of his fellow men."[17]

Dr. Gilman wrote largely for encyclopædias and magazines, edited De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* and published volumes containing collected addresses on *University Problems in the United States,* and on the *Launching of a University.* He also wrote two biographies, one of which—the *Life of James Dwight Dana*—is of special interest to Yale men.

The *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman,* by Fabian Franklin, and the Gilman Memorial Number of the *Johns Hopkins University Quar-*

[17] *Johns Hopkins University Circular,* No. 10, p. 38.

terly, published in 1908, give adequate material for a study of his life and influence.

Samuel B. Ruggles Esq.
New York
Dear Sir,

Having twice failed in my efforts to see you personally, I take this opportunity of saying to you in behalf of the Committee of the Alumni of Yale College, that you have been unanimously selected as the public orator of the Alumni at the commencement in July next,—and to express the strong desire which is felt by your friends in New Haven that nothing will prevent you from accepting the appointment.

Commencement is held on the last Thursday of July. The Alumni Address is generally given the day previous in the morning.

In behalf of the Committee,
I am, dear Sir,
Very Respectfully Yours,
DANIEL C. GILMAN
Librarian of Yale College.

46 Pine st. New York, April 21, 1864.

Dr. Gilman was elected in 1858 to succeed Edward Claudius Herrick (Hon. M.A. 1838) as Librarian, after he had served for two years as assistant. He was connected with the Library for nine years, until succeeded by Addison Van Name (B.A. 1858).

The Society of the Alumni was organized in 1827, and placed on a firm basis in 1842. Mr. Ruggles accepted the society's invitation and delivered a remarkably interesting address on progress during the half century since his graduation. This was published.

In 1850 the Corporation voted to place Commencement the following year on the last Thursday in July. The original month for the final graduating exercises was September. This time held throughout the eighteenth century, but there was a steady tendency to place it earlier. In 1832 Commencement was held for the first time in August, in 1851 in July, and in 1873 in June. The desire to avoid the hot weather led the Corporation recently (1911) to go back even earlier than ever, and it is now held on the next to the last Wednesday in the month.

WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS
Class of 1858
Born, September 10, 1835; Died, November 5, 1909
United States Commissioner of Education

As one of the leading American authorities on the theory of education, and as the most important single factor in improving the methods and standards of public school teaching during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Dr. Harris deserves recognition in this volume. He was born in North Killingly, Connecticut, and was prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover. He left Yale in his Junior year, but received the honorary Master's degree a decade later, and in 1888, by special vote of the Corporation, was enrolled with his class. It is surprising, in view of his later intellectual distinction, to find that he was not a high stand man in college. He took only a Third Dispute at the Junior Exhibition, but he was recognized as a man of distinct ability, and won a prize for the solution of mathematical problems. He was not prominent in undergraduate activities, living his own life quietly in his own way, yet the fact that he was elected to a Junior fraternity shows that he was not altogether a recluse. His college days were marked by those habits of close study, independent thinking, and broad reading, which were characteristic of his later manhood. He was not specially active in his debating society—Brothers—but took part in one prize debate, on the subject "Do the Signs of the Times Indicate Degeneracy in the American Character?" Probably he derived even more from the Library than from the classroom. He seems to have shared no really intimate undergraduate friendship, so it was, perhaps, all the more gratifying to him that his Yale degree was conferred at the special request of his class. The undergraduate community, always conservative in its point of view, thought him odd because he was a vegetarian and "affected Graham bread, gymnastics, stenography

and German." But some of the quiet, thoughtful men in the class were attracted to him. He was in a group of students who

> Spent not their time on toys or lust or wine,
> But wisdom, wit, philosophy divine,

and were in earnest to try to make the most of their opportunities. His poor physique led him to much walking about the hills of New Haven, and to exercise in the gymnasium.[1] It is probable that this early period of his life was not a very happy one, partly because of ill health, partly because he cared little for the curriculum, and even more because he was passing through a period of religious doubt and difficulty, from which he did not emerge for many years. When doubts had vanished and health had been restored, he always spoke of the old days with much satisfaction. The greatest influence of Yale upon him, as expressed by one of his friends, was that "it opened the door and set him thinking."[2] Few men have recognized more clearly the contribution made by Yale and other American colleges to national life. "Only in the careers of graduates of a college," he said, "may one trace with clearness the influence of its teachings,"[3] words which might well have been taken as the motto of this volume.

Dr. Harris later in life wrote an article entitled "How I was Educated," which has this reference to his college course. It shows that he considered a knowledge of the classical languages, and the power of mental concentration its main resulting advantages:

> In the fall of 1854 I entered Yale College. My term at Andover had taught me how to work patiently and ploddingly. At Yale, I learned how to perform a large task in a brief time. There was a written examination at the close of each term for which preparation must be made by private reviews. To be able to go over one's entire work for the term in two or three days of study, brought into discipline a new power, usually called the power to "cram." Of all my school disciplines I have found this one the most useful. The ability to throw one's self upon a difficulty with several times his ordinary working power is required again and again in practical life on meeting any considerable obstacles.

[1] Arthur Mathewson in *Woodstock Academy Gleaner*, Vol. 3, No. 2.
[2] Most of the above facts are taken from letters from classmates, especially Messrs. W. P. Bacon and S. H. Lee.
[3] *Universities and Their Sons*, Vol. I, p. 21.

My study of mathematics at college was rendered of no account by the fact that I had gone over and comprehended the entire geometry and trigonometry by myself two years previous to entering, and thus the freshness and keen zest of first learning was dulled, and I fell into lax habits of study in mathematics which I did not afterwards correct. At Andover, I had begun to read Humboldt's "Cosmos," and grew to be deeply interested in natural science. I began to disparage the study of Latin and Greek as dead languages. Language itself was "only an artificial product of the human mind." I wished to know nature. This thought came to possess me more and more until it finally overmastered me. About the middle of the junior year I withdrew from my connection with the college, full of dissatisfaction with its course of study, and impatient for the three "moderns"—modern science, modern literature, and modern history.

Soon after this I discovered that my slender knowledge of Latin and Greek was my chief instrument in the acquirement of new ideas. I found that the words in the English language which are used in the expression and communication of general ideas are derived almost entirely from the classic languages. Knowing the literal meaning of the roots, I was able to get the full force of the English vocabulary used for science and real thought. Some years afterwards, too, I came upon a more important insight. I saw that our entire modern civilization is derivative, resting on the Greek for its æsthetic and scientific forms, and on the Roman for the forms of its political and legal life. The frame-work of civilization being thus borrowed, modern culture has likewise to learn to know itself by studying, so to speak, its embryology in Latin and Greek.[4]

After leaving college he taught in St. Louis, being prominently connected with its public school system, of which he was elected Superintendent in 1868. His career in this position was distinguished, and gained for him a broad reputation, as shown by his being elected President of the National Association of School Superintendents, in 1873, President of the National Education Association, in 1875, and *Officier de l'Académie*[5] in France, in 1878—this last honor being because of the importance of his educational reports, which formed part of the Government's exhibition at the Paris Exposition.

In the mean time he had started the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* "the first of its character ever published in the United States,"[6] and in 1880 he moved East, having established with Bronson Alcott and others the Concord Summer School of Philosophy.

[4] *Forum,* Vol. I, pp. 560-561.
[5] He also received later the title of *Officier de l'Instruction Publique.*
[6] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. III, p. 95.

Dr. Harris' interest in philosophy was fundamental, and in its application to education he was probably the foremost thinker of his day in America. A writer in the *Educational Review* goes so far as to claim that "in the realm of psychology, philosophy and logic in their bearing on systems of education, he stood head and shoulders above all others on this continent if not in the world."[7] He was a leading exponent of Hegelianism. His devotion to the German master is shown by the fact that he told a friend, a year before his death, that he was reading his *Philosophy of History* for the seventeenth time.[8] He published *Hegel's Logic,* an *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy,* and *Psychologic Foundations of Education.* Most of his work of a philosophical character was written with the purpose of laying a sound and deep foundation, which would point the way to the best methods and ideals in the teaching and training of youth. In the same way his interesting work on *The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Commedia* was actuated by the thought of the need of opposing materialistic tendencies in education by the emphasis on the point of view of religion. His writings, of which there are four hundred and seventy-nine titles in his published bibliography, ranged over the whole field of the liberal arts: history, psychology, logic, education, art, literature, social science, but the dominant note is the same—the application of man's reason, as historically developed, to the field of his intellectual and moral growth. It was as an educational philosopher, or perhaps better as a philosophical educator, that his most

[7] James M. Greenwood, Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, in *Educational Review,* September, 1910, p. 183.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 173. In philosophy, the University's main contributions have been through four graduates whose biographies are recorded in this work in different sections. Edwards was not only a great theologian and metaphysician but the foremost American representative of mysticism; Samuel Johnson, a disciple of Berkeley, introduced idealism into this country; Harris was the leading exponent of Hegelianism; and Porter, especially through his work, *The Human Intellect,* did much to encourage the study of mental philosophy. George Trumbull Ladd, although long a Professor at the University, was a graduate of Western Reserve. It is to the influence of these men and to the Christian traditions of the place, supported by a strong theological faculty, that the atmosphere of the University has always been permeated by a spiritual philosophy, even in the second half of the nineteenth century, when materialism, in the attractive form presented by Herbert Spencer, was making large inroads in some intellectual circles. Yale was not deeply affected, and this in spite of the prominence of her men in scientific studies.

important literary work was done, and the manner of it was as good as the matter. His style was admirable.

In 1889 he became United States Commissioner of Education, holding the position for seven years. When he resigned, President Roosevelt wrote him a letter in which he said:

> In accepting your resignation as Commissioner of Education it is due to you to express not merely my regret at your feeling obliged to leave the service of the government, but my keen realization of the gain that has come to the United States from your presence in Washington and from your identification with the cause of education. I think it is a safe thing to say that all the people of our country who are most alive to the need of the real and thorough system of education have felt a peculiar pride and confidence in you.[9]

Another testimony is that of the Carnegie Foundation in selecting him as the first person to receive one of its retiring allowances. President Pritchett's formal letter referred to the desire of members of the Executive Committee to make grants in recognition of honorable service, and continued:

> It has seemed to them that they could best serve this purpose by tendering to a few men who have rendered a great service to education places at the head of what they wish to make a roll of honor. There is naturally no other name connected with American education which is so identified with its progress for the last thirty years as yours. . . . . therefore, we should be glad to confer on you, as the first man to whom such recognition for meritorious service is given, an annual income of $3000, of which, under the rules, one-half would be paid to Mrs. Harris should she survive you.[10]

Dr. Harris received the honorary Doctorate of Philosophy from Brown and Jena, and the Doctorate of Laws from the universities of Missouri, Pennsylvania, Yale, and Princeton. He lived and died honored and respected alike in the universities and public schools of the country. Although a very different type of man from Henry Barnard (q.v.), his predecessor as United States Commissioner of Education—appealing more to philosophical thinkers and less to the plain citizen—he carried forward the same work of educational leadership, in a way of which Yale men may well feel proud.

[9] *Fifth Biographical Record of the Class of Fifty-Eight*, p. 64.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The highest educational work of the country is undoubtedly done in the colleges; but the greatest work is done in the public schools. . . . . The teachers in these schools are numbered by the hundreds of thousands. And a man who can teach the teachers, giving them alike new conceptions of their work and new methods of doing their work, so that all along the line, from one end of the country to the other, there shall be a pedagogical revival with deepened interest in study on the part of the millions of scholars, is an educational general and fit to be commander-in-chief. And William T. Harris is the man. He is a philosopher. He founded and has edited the "Journal of Speculative Philosophy," . . . . and yet he did not lose his common sense, his clear way of stating things, his power of suggesting new thoughts and plans to teachers and thus getting them out of the ruts, nor his ability to awaken enthusiasm in teachers for their work. Above the roar of the mighty flood of so-called pedagogical learning with which our country is being inundated, the clear good sense and philosophical suggestions of Mr. Harris never fail to reach the understanding of teachers and to prove most helpful to them. His views on education are always sound, and the great multitude who listen to his words and in turn repeat them in substance to a still greater multitude, make his influence on the education of the people beyond calculation.[11]

Some idea of the breadth and significance of Dr. Harris' life influence may be derived from a study of "A List of the Writings of William Torrey Harris," in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education* for 1907, Volume I.

March 17, 1909.

W. T. Harris,
1360 Fairmont st.,
N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Colonel William Plumb Bacon,
50 Lexington street,
New Britain, Connecticut.

Dear Classmate:

I received in due course of mail the "Yale-Class of '58," on Monday of this week, and naturally spent the entire day over the book and take this, my first opportunity, to express to you my congratulations on your success in "saving the pieces" for our memorial urn, with so much that is good to read over, although with so much sadness after all these years.

When you were writing me before, you were enclosing the newspaper scrap giving a record of our classmate Perkins' "euthanasia," so well-described by

[11] President Northrop, *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, pp. 312, 313.

you as "beautiful and fitting." To me from the earliest days of our class life in 1858 there was something in his face reminding me very strongly of one of the angels in Correggio's "Holy Night." (I published a study on the "Holy Night" in the Chautauquan for June 1882, page 527, and spoke of the artist's treatment of the expressions of joy on the part of the angels who are present on this holiest of birth-nights:)

"Above in a bright cloud, under the roof of the stable, one sees a number of youthful angel forms mingled in singular movements, expressive of the greatest joy and gladness at the event that is just now happened. They look down in wonder and rapture and point to the upturned face of the child in the manger, or place their hands together in an attitude of prayer. . . . . From below the sweet face of a youth looks up as if to catch a glance of recognition from his father, the shepherd. The youth's face is brimming with the same gladness that we see expressed by the angels hovering in the clouds above. . . . . A miraculous light causes the face of the Madonna to shine as if transfigured. The neck, shoulders, hands and arms all glow in the radiance, which extends also to the hay in the manger, and makes luminous the cloud in which the angels hover above. Correggio excels all others in painting the innocent delight of childhood. His cherubs seem to be unable to express their fulness of joy except by ecstatic movements of their limbs and they remind one of the dancing of motes in the sunbeam. The Greek artist would be careful to keep all movements of his figures within the strict limits of the graceful and not permit any limb to assume for an instant an ungraceful or awkward attitude, but Correggio boldly transgresses Greek prudence and welcomes extravagance of movement and posture. His angels and children exhibit an utter unconsciousness of staid and sober decorum. The Greek mænad intoxicated with wine and youth is not allowed by the Greek artist to assume an ungraceful posture, although the limit is freely approached. But Correggio's angels are intoxicated with the gladness of the advent of the Redeemer and find any motion of the limbs scarcely adequate to utter their deep joy. They would find the constraint of decorum too much. For it would seem to indicate that some merely earthly prudence was so important as to be thought of in this moment of supreme elevation of soul."

I shall wish to get a number of copies of the volume—"Yale-Class of '58"—to send to my grandchildren and other relatives who are interested. I wanted also to use three or four copies of it for some mathematicians who have been studying quaternions. Please tell me how I may be able to get twenty or more copies.

Very sincerely yours,

W. T. Harris.

This letter to Colonel Bacon—the Nestor among Yale Class Secretaries—is in acknowledgment of the Semi-Centennial issue of the '58 Record. It shows conclusively that, although Dr. Harris was only able to complete part of his course at Yale, he was exceedingly loyal both to his class and to his University. His quotation from his article on Correggio is a good example of his literary style. He was an enthusiastic student of art.

As the above letter is typewritten, a brief note (1884) is added written entirely in Dr. Harris' extraordinarily bad handwriting.

William Rainey Harper

Class of 1875 (Graduate School)

Born, July 26, 1856; Died, January 10, 1906

First President of the University of Chicago and Semitic Scholar

President Harper was born at New Concord, Muskingum County, Ohio, where his father was a dry goods merchant. He was from childhood a great reader. When fourteen years of age he graduated from Muskingum College, a local institution of the United Presbyterian Church, of which David Putnam (B.A. 1793), a grandson of General Israel Putnam, had been the first President. It was then little more than a collegiate school, but it provided honest, earnest instruction, and as one of its main purposes was the preparing of young men for the ministry of its denomination, it had courses in the Biblical languages, which laid the foundations for young Harper's thorough and appreciative knowledge of the subject. It was significant that he delivered his Commencement address in Hebrew. For three years after receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree he acted as clerk in his father's store and pursued further studies at home.

In the fall of 1873 he came to Yale to study philology under William Dwight Whitney, and to enjoy the varied advantages of a university. He always looked up to Whitney with special veneration, and took his degree under him in 1875. At Yale he was for the first time brought into direct touch with university standards of work, and had his ideals of scholarship formed, and, in large measure, satisfied. He received the Doctorate of Philosophy at nineteen. This is believed to be the youngest age at which it has been granted at the University. From this time forward the young Western student considered himself a Yale man, one who could say with pride and emotion in his brief address at the Bicentennial:

> The colleges and the universities of the West can not measure the debt they owe to Eastern institutions, and to no institution is there due a larger debt than

to Yale. . . . . Every State and Territory of the West and Far West has felt Yale's touch; for Yale, perhaps more fully than any other Eastern institution, has, through her loyal sons, followed, step by step, the westward march of civilization over river, on prairie, and through forests.[1]

The next decade was spent in teaching with remarkable and growing success in various institutions of the Middle West, notably at Denison University, where he united with the Baptist Church, and at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, near Chicago. Here he started correspondence courses in Hebrew, inductive teaching, and Chautauqua lectures on Old Testament History—thus laying emphasis on many of the methods of work to increase the interest in Semitic studies, with which his name became so intimately connected. Through inspiration, instruction, and the publication of books, he did for America at the close of the nineteenth century a work similar in character and significance to that done by Moses Stuart (q.v.) two generations earlier. In 1886 he returned to New Haven as University Professor of Semitic Languages. Of his work in this chair President Sanders[2] (Ph.D. 1889) has written these recollections:

When Professor Harper came from Morgan Park to New Haven as professor of Semitic languages at Yale University, in the fall of 1886, at the very beginning of the administration of President Timothy Dwight, he had that in which his soul delighted—a creative opportunity. There were traditions which favored the establishment of such a chair, inherited from the oriental studies and collections of Professor Salisbury, and enforced by the eminence and active sympathy of Professor Whitney in Indo-European languages. Moreover, for many years Professor Day, in the theological school, had given instruction to divinity men and others in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. Yet a real department of Semitic languages awaited organization.

It was a fortunate and timely juncture. With the administration of President Dwight began the real and rapid expansion of Yale College, and of the schools which had grown up around it into a true university. With these growing ideals Professor Harper was in strong sympathy. He threw himself with stirring enthusiasm into his work, making himself almost at a bound the center of a group of earnest students. He was appointed instructor in Hebrew at the Divinity School, and succeeded in infusing within a few days an enthusiasm for the subject among the

[1] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 281.
[2] Dean of the Yale Divinity School, 1901-1905; now President of Washburn College.

members of the large junior class. Of this class I was myself a member. To us all his methods and his ambitions were a revelation, and his leadership was so inspiring that the hours of study he demanded were given as a matter of course and with great heartiness. . . . .

In 1889 the Woolsey professorship of biblical literature was established, and Dr. Harper became the first incumbent. This year he introduced a course in English on "Prophetical Literature," which drew a tremendous following in the university, from undergraduates, divinity men, and graduate students alike. It was a memorable experience, epoch-making for many an earnest student. At the same time a university series on "The Origin and Contents of the Psalter" was largely attended. . . . . Professor Harper was overwhelmed with invitations to speak on Bible study, and did in fact exert a widespread formative influence in the shaping of public sentiment in its favor.[3]

In 1891 he entered upon his work as first President of the University of Chicago. Here his executive ability showed itself in a marked way—so that within a decade he witnessed the successful launching of a modern university. There is nothing exceeding this achievement in modern education in America. The growth of the University of Wisconsin, and of its coöperative work with the state has been remarkable, so was the triumph of Dr. Gilman (q.v.) in creating a university with the highest scholastic ideals at Johns Hopkins; but in the former case the foundations had been laid for over a generation, while in the latter, the main attempt was to influence a small body of picked students rather than a large community. Gilman's work, from the qualitative standpoint, may have been higher, but for the extent of influence, the complexity of the administrative problems involved, and the difficulties to be surmounted, Harper's task was harder, and his success equally brilliant. It was not merely that he established the University of Chicago. He also made it a center of broad educational influence, not only for its city, but for the entire Middle West and Southwest. He developed the plans, raised the money, chose the Faculty, provided the enthusiasm and the ideals. The university was his product, and, almost incredible as it may seem, he continued to teach and to do important literary work—at least one of the volumes appearing during the period of his

[3] "Memorials of William Rainey Harper," *Biblical World*, March, 1906, pp. 178-180.

presidency being a notable contribution to Biblical study, his *Commentary on Amos and Hosea.*

President Harper's life work included two great achievements: the revival of interest in America in Semitic studies, and the building of a great educational institution. As to the former, Professor Emil Hirsch states:

> The renaissance of Hebrew studies in America is due to the labors, the zeal, and the enthusiasm of Dr. Harper, and the original method introduced by him. His name will be remembered by the side of the great European Christian scholars who unsealed for the children of the West the books of eastern Judaism. That roll of honor mentions Jerome, Reuchlin, the Buxtorfs, Gesenius, Ewald. Of this company the influence of none was more stimulating or extended to greater lengths than that of the departed head of the Semitic Department of the University of Chicago. Today every university on this continent recognizes the academic citizenship of Semitic philology and literature. A quarter of a century ago this was not the case. . . . . It was left for Dr. Harper to emancipate these studies from the thraldom of obsolete methods.[4]

An evidence of his service in this field is seen by consulting the theses for the Doctorate of Philosophy at Yale during his tenure of the professorship. The climax was reached in 1891, when one-half of the doctors' degrees, twelve out of twenty-three, were conferred upon students who were working under him, and in almost every year Semitics was prominently represented.

The University of Chicago was made possible by the gifts of a generous benefactor, but it is largely a monument to its first President. He caught a great vision, and in spite of much poking of fun by patronizing representatives of some older colleges, and much criticism from his own section, he hammered out the form of one of America's most important universities. For this work he received from Yale the Doctor of Laws degree.

These were his main life interests and successes, but there were many by-products. He founded and edited the *Biblical World,* was the leading factor in establishing The Religious Education Association, broadened the point of view of his own denomination and of

[4] *Biblical World,* March, 1906, p. 196.

thousands outside of it, suggested the *American Journal of Theology,* wrote many good text books, and served on various important boards, including the Chicago Board of Education. He was a man of clear views, of untiring energy and industry, and of a most forceful character. The heroic way in which he met his slow death from cancer, in the prime of life, drew forth the admiration of the American people. Although essentially an administrator and a scholar, he never forgot that he was a minister of the Christian Church, and to advance its mission was ever his highest purpose.

The number of the *Biblical World* for March, 1906, is taken up entirely with an account of his life and with tributes to his memory.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Chicago November 19th, 1904.

My dear Mr. Mathews:—

I have studied the proposed courses of the Department of Systematic Theology. I appreciate, of course, the fact that any suggestions which I may make must be of a more or less superficial character because of my lack of accurate knowledge of all the facts. But three or four things present themselves:

1) Is 23a Theology Proper not really an introduction to theology, and would it not better receive some such title? It does not seem to me to be theology, but rather preparation for theology.

2) I cannot imagine that you or any other living man can give a satisfactory course such as that announced in 23b in one major. It seems to me to be almost farcical to undertake it. I would as soon think of covering the whole Old Testament in a single quarter. I appreciate of course some of the difficulties involved in making it two majors, and making these two majors required, but is it worth while to consider whether it might not be made two majors and divided, requiring all students to take the first of the two and letting them select the second if they choose in place of some other subject?

3) I should like to raise the question whether this is the best stage in the game for you to take on the very heavy load involved in the course of Christian Apologetics? With the course on The Content of the Gospel, and

the course on Ethics of the New Testament, would it not be wise to make some other arrangement in reference to the course in Apologetics?

These are the points that come to my mind after a careful consideration of the whole matter.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM R. HARPER

the article on Students for the
Ministry was dictated this
morning. I think we must
put the Univ. of Chicago figures
in a different shape.

WRH.

This letter to Professor Shailer Mathews is an evidence of the thorough, systematic way in which President Harper took up every problem presented to him. It also reflects his ideals as to the need of specialization in scholarship and of an adequate training for students of theology. The fact that it is a dictated letter with a postscript in his own handwriting makes it all the more characteristic, but for the purposes of the Memorial Hall collection a holographic letter is added.

U. S. M. S. "New York."

July 14th [1903]

Dear Dr. Goodspeed,

The voyage has been very quiet.—no storm, no bad weather. We land tonight.

I have not had a good time on board steamer; but hope now to get some real rest.

Love to all

Yours Sincerely

W. R. HARPER

This brief note is addressed to the late Professor George S. Goodspeed (Ph.D. 1891) of the University of Chicago, one of Dr. Harper's main co-workers in encouraging Semitic studies in America. The latter was so exceedingly busy a man, and lived in an age that was becoming so dependent upon the typewriter, that letters in his own handwriting are hard to find.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Aaron Burr (Class of 1735), Born, 1716; Died, 1757.

He was a Berkeley Scholar at Yale. While pursuing his postgraduate studies he became "converted" and entered the Presbyterian ministry, acquiring a commanding reputation as a pulpit orator. He was elected second President of Princeton when only thirty-two, and as his predecessor and successor each held the office for only a few months, he is considered the most important factor in the early development of the college. His wife was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, and his son, who bore his name but who was not a Yale man, was Vice-President of the United States, and unfortunately notorious in later life. Stiles refers to President Burr in the highest terms: "A good classical scholar . . . . an excellent Divine & Preacher . . . . the eminent Xtian & every way the worthy Man."[1]

The letter, which was written only a month before his death, is an order to pay certain "proclamation money" to Peter V. B. Livingston (B.A. 1731), one of the original Trustees of Princeton College.

Jedidiah Morse (Class of 1783), Born, 1761; Died, 1826.

"The Father of American Geography" was one of the most useful men in New England in the early part of the nineteenth century. A classmate tells us that as an undergraduate "he had a very fair reputation as a scholar, and was distinguished not more for good talents than for vigorous application."[2] He united with the College Church as a Sophomore, but his earnestness in religious matters did not keep him from engaging much in New Haven society, and from reading with special care Chesterfield's *Letters on Politeness!* He spent most of his life as a pastor at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and was well known as the founder and editor of the *Panoplist*—a vigorous defender of orthodoxy against the radical tendencies of Unitarianism. He was active in the founding of the Andover Theological Seminary, made a valuable report to the War Department on the condition of the Indians, and was prominent

[1] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 337.
[2] Rev. Payson Williston, in Sprague, *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 251.

both in organizing the American Board and in promoting the cause of negro education. His place in educational history is mainly due to his excellent series of geographies—the first published in America. These began with *Geography Made Easy*, printed in New Haven in 1784. His dignified tomb may be seen in the Grove Street Cemetery. A letter which he wrote in later life shows the appropriateness of his being buried there: "I think of retiring, & spending the evening of my life at N. Haven, whh to me & all my family is the most desirable spot on earth."[3]

The autograph is an agreement signed by Morse and his publishers. The latter were to receive "forty P cent on all sales of Books deposited in their hands."

Jeremiah Day (Class of 1795), Born, 1773; Died, 1867.

Jeremiah Day was Professor of Mathematics at Yale when he was elected President of the College, a position which he held from 1817 to 1846. Like President Woolsey, who succeeded him, he was ordained immediately before his installation as President. He was deeply respected for his character and judgment. The College had a healthy growth under him, but his extreme conservatism prevented it from being, at the time, a really progressive institution. It was still the day of small things. Even in 1832 the good President could state in print that "the entire *annual income* of the College, independent of the term bills, but little exceeds $2000."[4] President Day was the author of many excellent mathematical text books, including a well-known one on *Algebra*.

The letter is written by Professor Day to Professor Silliman, in March, 1804, a month before the latter returned from Philadelphia to begin his scientific instruction at Yale. It gives an interesting account of the newer methods of teaching that were being introduced under the first President Dwight. "I have entirely laid aside the book; though I still follow the order of subjects in Enfield. My instruction at present is more in the form of lectures, than of recitations. I write more than I did at first: though what I write is still mere sketches. As soon as the class are collected, I begin with questioning them on the subject which was handled the preceding day. . . . . In this way I can unite the advantages of reciting and lecturing. . . . . I am now upon Pneumatics."

[3] Letter to President Day, in Library, September 1, 1819.
[4] Circular entitled *A Statement of Facts pertaining to the Case of Yale College.*

JEREMIAH EVARTS (Class of 1802), Born, 1781; Died, 1831.

Mr. Evarts had a brilliant undergraduate career as a scholar and writer. The secretary of his class bears this testimony: "He was diligent, methodical, punctual and accurate in everything. His lessons were always well studied and understood, and it is saying nothing against his associates to affirm that he was among the very best scholars of his class. . . . . His morals also were of the most correct kind ever found among the unconverted. . . . . He was one of the first converts in the great revival in college in 1802." Having extolled the remarkable faith and religious earnestness of Evarts, after his uniting with the College Church, his classmate refers to his Oration at Commencement on "The Execution of Laws": "This was illustrated with such clearness of statement, such cogency of argument, and with such eloquence and solemnity of appeal as awakened universal admiration."[5]

He first came to broad public notice through his editorship of the *Panoplist*, and later of the *Missionary Herald*. His most significant work was as corresponding secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a position which he held with great ability during the last ten years of his life. His published *Memoir* shows that his writings and addresses were an important educational factor in developing the new interest in philanthropic movements so noticeable in America in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was the father of William M. Evarts (q.v.), the eminent lawyer and statesman.

The letter, dated Boston, January 9, 1818, refers to the *Panoplist*, the *Educational Society*, and the *New England Tract Society*, three useful institutions with which he was prominently identified.

JOHN HIRAM LATHROP (Class of 1819), Born, 1799; Died, 1866.

He was a Yale tutor who, after a successful professorship at Hamilton College, became the first executive head of two important institutions, the State Universities of Missouri and of Wisconsin. He was also, for a short time, President of the University of Indiana. For a quarter of a century he helped to direct the development of higher public education in the Middle West. The success of the State University system in America owes much to his character, his sound knowledge of education, and his progressiveness.[6] His inaugural address at Madison, in 1850, clearly indicated some of the

[5] Rev. Samuel Merwin, MS. "Brief History of the Class of 1802," pp. 45-47.
[6] For sketch of Dr. Lathrop see Lowry, *A Sketch of the University of the State of Missouri*, pp. 85-90.

new lines of work for which its great university was to stand, especially the service it was to render to every teacher of the state, as the capstone of its educational system. After referring to the training of its students he added:

> But this is not all. The University of Wisconsin has an additional function to discharge, another destiny to accomplish. It purposes, through its Faculty of the Theory and Practise of Public Instruction, to do for the great cause of popular education in the State, what the Normal Schools of other States have attempted to do only partially, and that at considerable charge on the income of the school fund. The University will invite those young men who intend to do the State service in her public schools, to come up to its halls, and to avail themselves of the instructions of its Normal Department. . . . .[7]

It was largely because of Chancellor Lathrop's successful insistence on this idea, during the institution's first decade, that the University of Wisconsin has become so identified with the life of its commonwealth.

The autograph letter in the Memorial Hall collection was written in 1827, from Gardiner, Maine, where Lathrop was in charge of the Lyceum. It is addressed to Hon. Gerrit Smith, one of the Trustees of Hamilton College, regarding the tentative offer of a professorship. The letter contains this sentence, indicating the writer's opinion of Yale: "if honored with the appointment, I shall bring to the duties of the office an entire devotedness to the welfare of the Institution, and at least such qualifications as the experience of five years in the best regulated and first University in our country, is calculated to bestow."

Theron Baldwin (Class of 1827), Born, 1801; Died, 1870.

In the fall of 1828 the Illinois Band was organized in the Yale Divinity School. It consisted of a group of seven men, pledged to devote themselves to laying Christian foundations for the infant state of Illinois. Baldwin states that although this organization was suggested by others, it was "called into action by an Essay of my own, read at Yale, in the Society of inquiry, respecting Missions Nov^{r} 28, 1828." Its theme was "The Motives or rather encouragements to active individual effort in the cause of Christ, derived from the example of eminent Christian philanthropists, and the present state of the world."[8] This movement was so important that Abraham Lincoln stated that it determined Illinois' attitude in the critical slavery struggle.[9] Illinois College was one of the results of this movement. Baldwin was the main factor

[7] *Inauguration of Hon. John H. Lathrop*, pp. 50, 51.
[8] MS. "History of the Class of 1827," p. 11.
[9] See Professor Fisher's statement, *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 158.

in securing its charter, while Edward Beecher (B.A. 1822) and Julian M. Sturtevant (B.A. 1826) were early presidents. He organized in 1838 (the year after the starting of Mount Holyoke) the Monticello Female Seminary. He was also the virtual founder and first secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the West. "To him, perhaps more than to any other one man, are due the higher educational facilities attainable in every part of the West."[10] He illustrated by his life the subject of an oration which he delivered as an undergraduate at the anniversary of Brothers—"the force of example."

The letter is addressed to his college friend and co-laborer in the establishment of Illinois College, Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant, D.D., LL.D. (B.A. 1826). At the time of writing, June, 1835, Dr. Baldwin was the agent of the American Home Missionary Society for Illinois. He was interested in covering in the most statesmanlike and coöperative way the field of Christian education in the Middle West. "I plainly see that one way in which the Devil is to destroy much of the good that might be done at the West is to get up a collusion of petty local interests that shall divide & weaken the friends of education & religion—who on all great points *think alike*. We must guard this point in Ill. with a jealous eye."

HENRY DURANT (Class of 1827), Born, 1802; Died, 1875.

Durant was for eight years at Yale, as an undergraduate, a student of theology, and a tutor. He was prominent as a debater, a Christian worker,[11] and a student, delivering at Commencement an oration "on early mental discipline." After experience as a pastor and teacher in New England, he moved to California in 1853, and opened in Oakland a collegiate school, which, under his influence, was molded into the College of California. He was Professor of Greek, but when the college, largely as a result of his efforts, was merged into a state university, he became its first President.[12] On this account, and because of his earlier leadership in bringing the institution into being, he may, more properly than any other individual, be considered the founder of the university. Daniel C. Gilman (q.v.) succeeded him in the presidency, a position also held later by another devoted Yalensian, Martin Kellogg (B.A. 1850). Perhaps some of Durant's success in pioneer educational work

[10] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. I, p. 150.
[11] See account under Horace Bushnell.
[12] Walter Colton (B.A. 1822), brother of the author, Calvin Colton (B.A. 1812), built the first schoolhouse in California, and established the first newspaper.

in the West was due to the qualities of heart and mind which led him to write in a classmate's autograph album preserved in the Library, "I cannot be your acquaintance without being your friend."

THOMAS ANTHONY THACHER (Class of 1835), Born, 1815; Died, 1886.

He held the professorship of Latin at Yale from 1842 to 1886. He was a good classical scholar, a loyal Yale man, and a most effective member of the Faculty, but it is as a teacher and counselor of youth that his name is revered in the College community. In his *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, President Dwight has two sentences about him which tell the whole story: "Beyond any teacher whom I have ever known, he had the power of impressing what he desired to communicate upon the student's mind and memory so deeply that it could not be forgotten. . . . . No man, in the half century that has just closed, won for himself the warm-hearted and abiding friendship of Yale students in larger measure than he did."[18] It is due to the manly, Christian character, and deep interest in the student body, of a few men like Professor Thacher, that Yale has developed into a University without losing the fine, strong traits of the old New England College. He well deserves an honored place in a list of educators. His memorials at the University are a window in Battell Chapel, the Thacher Professorship of Latin, the Thacher Fund (used to encourage extemporaneous debate), established by the Class of 1842 at their fiftieth anniversary, and two portraits.

The letter, written in 1864 to Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles (B.A. 1814), congratulates him on his address of welcome to Goldwin Smith, whose championship of the Union cause made him heartily popular in America. ". . . . you were at once sufficiently complimentary to Prof. Smith and his country and entirely independent in your thoughts concerning our nation and national policy."

CHARLES JANEWAY STILLÉ (Class of 1839), Born, 1819; Died, 1899.

He was born in Philadelphia of good Swedish and German stock, and early decided to fit himself for Yale College, where his brother Alfred, a recognized medical authority (B.A. 1832), had graduated. His undergraduate course was marked both by character and ability. He was President of Brothers in Unity, and delivered before it a Valedictory Oration on *The Social Spirit*, which was his first published work. He was always deeply interested in his

[18] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, pp. 28-29.

Alma Mater, before whose graduates he delivered, in 1863, an address entitled *The Historical Development of American Civilization.* By his will he left the University one-third of his residuary estate.

After graduation he studied law but devoted his time mainly to literary and historical work. The war for the Union enlisted his sympathy and he served as a member of the United States Sanitary Commission, of which he was the historian. His most important public service at this time was the writing of a brief pamphlet entitled *How a Free People Conduct a Long War,* proving from historical parallels the need of preparing for a protracted struggle. Lincoln wrote its author that it was "far the best production upon the subject it treats that I have seen."[14] Half a million copies were distributed and had a wide influence.

In 1866 he was elected Professor of History and Belles Lettres in the University of Pennsylvania, and two years later he became Provost, a position which he held until his resignation in 1880. Under him the university was moved to a more adequate site, was more effectively organized, and greatly increased its reputation as a center of learning and as a factor of influence in its own city. After his retirement his time was devoted mainly to historical studies, especially to the work accomplished by Pennsylvania patriots in laying the foundations of the nation. His books included *The Life and Times of John Dickinson,* and *Major-General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army.*

Charles Loring Brace (Class of 1846), Born, 1826; Died, 1890.

After extensive travels in Europe, where he gave special attention to the subject of reformatory institutions, Mr. Brace settled in New York, and devoted himself to the improvement of conditions among the criminal and the degraded. He soon came to the conviction that no reform would be permanent unless more attention were devoted to the children of the poor. He was instrumental in establishing, in 1853, the Children's Aid Society, and the following year founded the first Newsboys' Lodging House in America. He was recognized as a national leader in educating public opinion to the need of the protection of childhood—a movement which has recently come to fruition through the establishment by the Federal Government of a "Children's Bureau." His best known book is *Gesta Christi,* a history of humane progress under Christianity. It reminds us that his Townsend Prize Essay at Commencement was a criticism of Scepticism. Its opening words were

[14] *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the Death of Charles Janeway Stillé,* p. 10.

"It seems strange that any man could have ever doubted the existence of God."[15]

The letter was written the day after his wedding in Ireland, in the summer of 1854. "It is a great thing to transplant so fair and delicate a thing as a woman's heart to a distant land—and I tremble sometimes—but God will guide us, I feel sure—and she will I am confident, find many in the land of strangers to welcome her warmly for my sake—"

The signature shows clearly a strong personality.

WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE (Class of 1849), Born, 1821; Died, 1894.

During his college course he delivered an oration on "Utility" at the Junior Exhibition, and was librarian of Brothers in Unity. In response to the requests of students he began to post lists of books in the Library bearing on subjects announced for essays and prizes. These proved so useful that he prepared and published in his Junior year the first *Index to Periodical Literature.* This contained one hundred and fifty-four pages. He began a second edition in Senior year, which was published in 1853. Since that time *Poole's Index* has been an indispensable volume for every public library. The origin of this publication is referred to as follows in the contemporary records of his undergraduate literary society:

> Mr. Candee introduced the subject of the *Index* upon which Mr. Poole (Ass't Libr.) had been engaged for some time previous—was followed by Mr. Poole himself, who gave a succinct but clear statement of the object of the work and its prospect of success. The society then voted a hearty approval of the undertaking and also of the measures taken by the Committee for its publication and circulation.[16]

After graduation he was in turn Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Mercantile Library, the Public Library of Cincinnati, the Chicago Public Library, and the Newberry Library. He did more than any man of his generation to improve library conditions throughout the country. He was a man of marked literary and historical tastes, and served as President both of the American Historical Association, and of the American Library Association. He was regarded as the Nestor of American Librarians.

The letter, written from the Chicago Public Library, in 1881, is regarding the third edition of *Poole's Index.* "It will take a year to print 1200 roy 8° pages." The volume duly appeared the following year, containing 1469 pages. It was prepared with the coöperation of the Library Associations both of America and of the United Kingdom.

[15] *Yale Literary Magazine,* Vol. XI, p. 385.
[16] MS. Records of Brothers in Unity for April 18, 1848.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOLARS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARSHIP

It should be remembered that until the nineteenth century scholarship in the modern sense of the word scarcely existed in America. Our colleges in their early days were mainly institutions for maintaining orthodoxy in theology and for transmitting knowledge and mental discipline, especially the latter, by the study of the classics and mathematics. It was only about the time of the Declaration of Independence that the transition was begun to the more liberal and humanistic curriculum of modern times, as outlined in the biography of Timothy Dwight (B.A. 1769); and it was even later, under Benjamin Silliman (B.A. 1796), that the beginnings are seen of that scientific attitude of mind which has characterized the last half century. Under the old régime learning was possible, but not that accuracy and objectivity of observation upon which emphasis is now laid. Yale had Presidents Clap (Harvard) and Stiles (B.A. 1746) and other learned men during the eighteenth century, yet it was not until after the Revolution that really productive scholarship became more than a semi-occasional phenomenon. Until this time of transition, theology was the dominant interest. Occasionally its adherents made incursions into other fields, but except for the early historians, such as Benjamin Trumbull (B.A. 1759) and Abiel Holmes (B.A. 1783), the results were of little permanent value. The fact is that the main current of Yale's mental vigor in colonial times is not found in her scholars but in the noble succession of divines led by Jonathan Edwards (B.A. 1720).

A university has two great functions—teaching and research. They are of equal importance, although it is only in the nineteenth century that the latter has been really developed in America. They are rarely combined in the same individual. To take illustrations from the field of science: Silliman was great as a teacher, but not as an investigator; while Gibbs was a born "researcher," but never had over a handful of students. In the present division we shall deal with distinction in pure scholarship and profound learning in the field of liberal arts, subordinating all other considerations. The scientists are dealt with separately, while some eminent scholars, whose work has been in connection with university presidencies, have been considered under Educational Leaders.

In this broad department—still known in England by the good old title of Literæ Humaniores—it is unquestionably in philology that the University has made the most important contributions. The beginnings may be seen in the eighteenth century erudition of Ezra Stiles (B.A. 1746). The line is traced down through James Murdock (B.A. 1797); the elder Gibbs (B.A. 1809); a less accurate but remarkably magnetic scholar, Moses Stuart (B.A. 1799)—whose biography is included under the leaders in religion—and Edward Elbridge Salisbury (B.A. 1832), the teacher of Whitney and the real founder of the modern study of linguistics at the University. Webster (B.A. 1778) and Worcester (B.A. 1811) give substance to this reputation in the field of lexicography, and it reaches its climax in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Then Woolsey (B.A. 1820), here included under Educational Leaders, and Professor William Dwight Whitney were at their prime. The graduate work of these two men had its profound influence upon every American university. The former was largely responsible for the scholarship of James Hadley (B.A. 1842), and the latter for that of William Rainey Harper (Ph.D. 1875), who may be taken as typical representatives of two tendencies in the scholarly activity of their period. James Hammond Trumbull (B.A. 1842) was also being trained to

be the leading authority on the language of the North American Indians.

The American Oriental Society Library, deposited at the University, has aided in keeping up this apostolic succession in linguistic science. The outside reputation has also been helped by the fact that the three most representative dictionaries—Webster, Worcester, and the Century—have intimate Yale associations, especially the first named, which originated at New Haven, and has been successively edited by Professor Goodrich (B.A. 1810), President Porter (B.A. 1831), and Dr. William T. Harris (B.A. 1858).

The University, through its professors and graduates, has made contributions in every important field of scholarship, but, except for natural science, which is considered separately, philology so clearly holds the position of leadership as to make no other branch worthy of comparison with it.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

Ezra Stiles
Class of 1746

Born, November 29, 1727; Died, May 12, 1795
Antiquarian, Scholar, and President of Yale College

President Stiles, the erudite antiquarian, and one of the most picturesque characters in college annals, was born in North Haven, Connecticut, the son of Rev. Isaac Stiles (B.A. 1722). He was admitted to college shortly before reaching his fifteenth birthday, and gained an enviable reputation as a scholar. His inquisitive mind was not satisfied by doing with thoroughness the required work of the curriculum. We find him in Sophomore year devoting much time to astronomy—especially with reference to comets. He studied them carefully and made notes as to their periods, number, distance, and velocity. He also calculated eclipses, and completed a compendium of the Bible from the standpoint of chronology.[1] At the final public examination of Senior year he delivered the Cliosophic Oration, which was supposed to be a sort of philosophical discourse on education—its purpose, means, and extent. In the language of the time, it was intended to include the "Cyclopedia of Literature." In this Stiles traced the successive stages of collegiate study and gave his estimate of their value. He begins with logic, showing its intimate connection with all well-directed intellectual effort. Then follow grammar and rhetoric, mathematics and natural philosophy, and crowning all, ethics, as explaining the fundamental obligations to God and man.[2] At the Commencement exercises which followed a few weeks later, he took part in a "Syllogistic" debate, then, next to the Salutatory

[1] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 12.
[2] Kingsley, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, in Sparks' Library of American Biography, p. 7.

Oration, the highest graduation honor. He supported the affirmative of the thesis *Jus regum non est Jure divino hæreditarium.* This was the side of the question which he advocated so eloquently in later life. His speech must have received the hearty endorsement of most of his classmates, among whom were such noted patriots as Lewis Morris (q.v.) and John Morin Scott, both members of the Continental Congress, and the early American publicist and economist Pelatiah Webster (q.v.). The historian Holmes states that "when he proceeded Bachelor of Arts, he was esteemed one of the most perfect scholars that had ever received the honours of the seminary."[3] It is probable that college life meant most to Stiles by giving him the opportunity to study, read, and think, in an academic atmosphere, with a good collection of books close at hand.

On graduation he remained at New Haven for further work, being especially attracted by the College Library. This contained Dean Berkeley's gift of over eight hundred volumes, "the finest collection of books which had ever been brought to this country."[4] The financial difficulty of self-support was largely obviated by the kindness of David Wooster (q.v.), afterwards General Wooster of military fame, who invited Stiles to live at his home on Wooster Street during his absence at the front in the French and Indian War.

The serious purpose which he had in pursuing his theological and other studies is shown by these resolutions which he now drew up:

Ratio vivendi.

1. In every action and station of life, act with judgment, prudence, calmness, and good humour of mind.

2. Endeavor to make the business of your life your pleasure, as well as your employment. *Labor ipse voluptas.*

3. Be contented with whatever condition and circumstances Providence shall allot you in the world; and therein endeavor, some way or other, to be useful to your fellow-men.

[3] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles,* p. 14.
[4] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 471. The total number of books in the Library was then about twenty-six hundred.

4. Persuade yourself that to live according to the dictates of Reason and Religion is the surest, and indeed the only way to live happily in this world, and to lay a foundation of happiness in the other.

5. Extirpate all vicious inclinations; cultivate and improve the mind with useful knowledge, and inure it to virtuous habits; think, live, and act, rationally here, that you may be progressively preparing for heaven. *Nulla dies sine linea.*[5]

The young student further summed up his purpose in this statement of self-consecration: "I consider myself as a citizen of the intellectual world, and a subject of its almighty Lawgiver and Judge; by him I am placed upon an honorable theatre of action, to sustain, in the sight of mortal and immortal beings, that character and part which he shall assign me, in order to my being trained up for perfection and immortality; and shall, therefore, from this time forth, devote my life to the service of God, my country, and mankind."[6] The language may be a little "high-sounding" to a prosaic generation, but it expressed his genuine convictions. The resolution was well supported in after life.

In 1749 Stiles accepted an election as tutor, after having served for a few months as college butler. He was attracted to the former position, to use his own words, "not so much for the honour of the office, as for the advantage of a longer residence at the Seat of the Muses."[7] One event of his tutorship is worth recalling. He was considered so good a classical scholar that, in 1752, the fiftieth anniversary of the first Commencement, he accepted President Clap's request to deliver a Commemorative Oration in Latin.[8] He rendered similar service in 1753, in memory of Bishop Berkeley, and in 1755, when Dr. Franklin visited New Haven, where he had at one time planned to erect a printing press on part of the present College Campus.[9] Stiles' point of view as a tutor, and the general conditions of college life at this time, are reflected in the records in his handwriting of the meetings of the "President and Tutors." The account

[5] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 16, 17.
[6] Kingsley, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 9.
[7] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 18.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[9] See his manuscript letter (1753) to a London printer, in University Library.

of an affair in January, 1752, is so characteristic that, as it has not heretofore been published, it is here given in full:

At a Meeting of the President & Tutors of Yale College
Jan. 21, 1752

Whereas last Evening before Nine o'Clock, there was a considerable Noise in Spalding's Chamber, & Mr. Stiles, who was with sundry Gentlemen in the Room below, sent up a Freshman & ordered the Noise to cease. Not long after which the Noise was more violent than before; whereupon Mr. Stiles went up & found Goodrich, Wiggins & Spaulding with sundry other engaged in a disorderly Noise, & gave them a particular Reprimand, & peremptorily ordered them to be still.—They ceased for a few Minutes, & soon began again, but not long after they left the Chamber & rushed in an impetuous & violent Manner down the Stairs, hallooing & jumping, 'till they came into the Chamber over Mr. Hopkins, where they continued their disorderly Rout, & by stamping & jumping brake down the Plaistering in Mr. Hopkins' Chamber. Whereupon Mr. Hopkins went up & ordered them to be still; but they continued their disorderly Noise sometime; then went into the Room under Mr. Hopkins, & made a horrible Noise by hallooing, screaming & jumping. Mr. Stiles, being then in Mr. Hopkins' Chamber, stamped in Order to silence them, yet they either heard nothing of it, or if they did, contemptuously disregarded it.

Upon which the Tutors went down, but with Difficulty stilled them by their Presence. And as the Tutors were coming down Stairs, one of the Company halloo'd "put out the Candle", which Mr. Stiles, when he came into the Room, ordered to be lighted again; but none could be found, till one was ordered from the adjacent Room.—When a Candle was bro't, Mr. Stiles ordered one of them to hold it for him, till he had taken their Names: Wiggins thereupon took the Candle, & while he held it, behaved in a most indecent and disrespectful Manner; which Mr. Stiles reproved him for, but he would not cease, 'till ordered to set down the Candle, nor even then. At the same Time Goodrich & Spalding behaved with great Levity & Disrespect, by smiling, laughing, Walking, odd Bowing &c. Mr. Stiles after taking their Names, ordered them to be still, & tarry in that Room, 'till he should send for them.

After Mr. Stiles was gone, they, instead of ceasing, went on with the same disorderly Riot: & Spaulding shoved up the Window, & halloo'd, "Who has anything to give the poor Prisoners."

After a little Span, the Tutors sent for them: and as they came up Stairs jum[p]ing & hallooing in a violent Manner, to when they came before the Tutors, they behaved with the utmost Insolence, Contempt & Disrespect—Wiggins, by appearing without any Gown or Hat, & by unseemly, disrespectful Gestures—Spalding, by odd Bowing, Stepping too & fro &c—Porter, who appeared without his Wigg or Cap, stood back, picking Chips & Bark from the Wood, & throwing them about Mr. Hillhouse's Chamber; who, tho' reprimanded thrice by Mr. Hill-

house & Mr. Stiles, did not cease till ordered to another Place. Upon Examination, Mr. Stiles observing that such Disorders, if persisted in, must finally terminate in Expulsion, Spaulding said, "I dont much matter that."

After the Tutors had dismissed them, they gave them a special Charge to go to their Chambers, with particular Orders to avoid the like Noise for the future. Instead of which, some that were thus dismissed, went into Spalding's Chamber, & continued the same unsufferable Noise. Whereupon Mr. Stiles went & informed the President of them as incorrigible. And during these Transactions, the Bell was frequently rung—

Upon Examination before the President & Tutors, it appeared that the Transactions before related were a Series of violent, riotous, & rebellious Conduct, contrary to the Laws of this College, & in Contempt of the Authority thereof, & the express repeated Orders of the Tutors; a Scandal to this College, and of very ill Example to other Students. And that Spalding, Wiggins & Goodrich were the principal Actors in this Riot: & violated the express Orders of the Tutors 4 or 5 several Times.

And Whereas the Students have been generally too much addicted to making a Noise; & there have been several Instances of such Riots heretofore, which have not been suppressed by lesser Punishments.

It is therefore considered by the President, with the Advice of the Tutors, that the said Porter, for the Crimes beforementioned, particularly his contemptuous Behaviour towards the Tutors, shall be deprived, & he is hereby deprived of the Liberty of sending Freshmen, 'till the Spring Vacation: and all Freshmen are hereby prohibited from going any Errands for him, & from treating him with any more than civil Respect. And that Goodrich & Wiggins, for the Crimes beforementioned more especially for their being Actors in this Riot, for their repeated Violations of the express Orders, as well as disrespectful & contemptuous Treatment of the Tutors, be Suspended, & they are hereby suspended, from all the Privileges of this College; & are hereby prohibited from coming within the Limits of the College Yard. And that Spalding, for the Crimes beforementioned, more especially his being a principal Actor in the Riot aforesaid, his repeated Violations of the express Orders of the Tutors, his disrespectful & contemptuous Treatment of them, his hallooing out at the Window, & for his making light of an Expulsion, as before related, and for disrespectful Carriage towards the Tutors at other Times, be imediately Expelled.

The Expulsion

Whereas You, Asa Spalding, have been guilty of sundry riotous & impudent Crimes, as particularly related in the Judgmts of the President & Tutors now read which are scandalous to this College, & render You unfit to be a Member of it;

Wherefore to shew a due Detestation of such Evils, & to maintain the Honour & good Order of this College, & to prevent any of the Members of it from being affected or influenced by such evil Examples: I do in Pursuance to the Laws of this College, & with the Consent of the Tutors, utterly expel, reject, & cast out

You the said Spalding from being a Member of this College; & from henceforth enjoying any of the Dignities, Privileges, & Immunities of it; and declare that your Relation to it shall henceforth intirely cease. And I do hereby command You immediately to depart out of this College, & the Limits thereof, & never to return to reside here any more. And I do command all the Schollars not to entertain any free or familiar Conversation with You any more. And I do hereby order the Butler & Monitor to erase & blot your Name out of their Bills. And let all others hear & fear, & do no more presumptuously.

His term as tutor lasted for six years, and brought him into an intimacy of relationship with several classes which he instructed in all subjects. To one of these, the Class of 1756, which was about to graduate, he addressed a letter thanking its members for their friendship, and giving them advice on various matters. It contains this special exhortation:

You are now entered on the study of Ethics. With your speculative knowledge, let me recommend it to you to join devotion and virtue. If valuable science has not a proper influence on our characters, it will but involve us in ignominy and contempt; while genuine goodness and well-formed virtue, will secure the tranquillity of life, and prepare us for the triumphs of intellectual merit, when we shall pass in review before other parts of the moral world.[10]

During this period his health was poor, and he passed through religious difficulties which led him to give up for the time the thought of the ministry, and to fit himself for the law. He went so far as to be admitted to the Bar, but when the call to a Newport church came, in 1755, his faith was again sufficiently secure to enable him to accept. In this Rhode Island town, then one of the most cosmopolitan places in America, he spent twenty happy years, devoting himself to the duties of his parish, and to reading and correspondence of the broadest character. He remained here until called to the Yale presidency, except for two years when war dispersed most of his congregation. His term as President,[11] 1778-1795, was marked by a closer relationship to the state, and consequently a less exclusively clerical control of the College. Largely through President Stiles' coöperation, and

[10] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 65.

[11] For a most interesting account of his inauguration see Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 278-283.

in return for some financial aid to the College, the legislature passed an act, in 1792, admitting the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the Corporation, as well as the "six senior assistants in the Council of this State." This was an important provision, as it made possible the later broadening of the board in ways not then thought of—for, in 1871, Fellows elected by the alumni were substituted for state senators, who, under the new constitution, had taken the place of the assistants.

The broader relations of the College, and its development and ideals as they lay in the President's mind, are shown in his speech in laying the "foundation stone" of South College, a building used for over a hundred years, until the erection of the east wing of Vanderbilt required its demolition. The quaint, archaic phraseology is characteristic of its author, who was an antiquarian in every fiber of his being:

I here lay this Foundation Stone of the new College Edifice, which we are enabled to erect by the generous Liberality & Munifence of the Hon. the Gen. Assembly of this State. And I humbly implore the Blessing of God upon this architectonic Work, and religiously consecrate & commend it, with all the Interests of this University to the Smiles & Blessings of the Supreme Architect, to the Care of the Fountain of Wisdom, Beauty, Strength & Perfection. May this University flourish, and become more an Ornament to this City & State. . . . .

With Gratitude to Heaven & to our Benefactors we now rejoice in seeing the prosperity of the College, which from small beginnings & great & persevering exertions & a most frugal Œconomy has ascended to its present growing glory. We rejoice in seeing the foundation of this 7th edifice appertaining to College; which with the Philosophic Apparatus, Donations for increasing the public Library and other Literary Augumentations especially in the Auxiliary Glory of the amicable union of Civilians in the Government of the College & in the Provision of Funds for the Establishment of ample Professorships in the various Branches of Literature, all these give us reason with pleasure to anticipate the future distinguished figure & increasing Utility of this Institution among the Sister Universities of these States and of the World.

Peace be within thy Walls O Yale, and prosperity within thy Palaces! May Erudition, Religion & every Virtue be the Ornament & Glory of thy Sons! May thy Renown & Glory be diffused thro' the Republic of Letters & be Commensurate with the expansion of Knowledge & Science & with the Duration of Liberty & the United States.[12]

[12] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 491-492.

As may be inferred from the above, President Stiles was a great believer in ceremony. The rules recently adopted by American universities for regulating academic costume would have delighted him. He emphasized the dignity of his office, and was a strict disciplinarian. "Him to honor—(raining or not) we must never approach nearer than ten rods without pulling off our hats."[13] So wrote an undergraduate of the period. But with all this punctilious etiquette went a profound love for scholarship and learning.

In Lyman Beecher's autobiography there are some anecdotes of Stiles, of which the following, with its picture of the old-time pedagogue, is perhaps the most characteristic. Incidentally it is a good commentary on the statement in his diary, immediately after receiving the news of his election to the presidency: "An hundred & fifty or 180 Young Gentlemen Students, is a Bundle of Wild Fire not easily controlled & governed—and at best the Diadem of a President is a Crown of Thorns"![14]

> One evening he brought a foreign ambassador or other dignitary with him to prayers, but, being rather late, the students were in a row, stamping, etc., all over the chapel. This mortified him exceedingly. He reached the stage; tried to speak to quell the tumult; couldn't be heard; then up with his cane and struck on the stage, shivering it to splinters, and broke out in a rage. He was of the old régime—the last of that age—had it in his heart and in his soul. He liked the old college laws derived from the English universities; and when the Freshmen complained of the oppression of the Sophomores, he sent them back.[15]

Doctor Stiles (he received the Doctorate of Divinity from Edinburgh through the influence of Benjamin Franklin) combined with the presidency the professorship of Ecclesiastical History, and also took main charge of every Senior class, teaching its members metaphysics, ethics, history, civil polity, and theology. He used Locke, Priestley, Montesquieu, and Paley as text books. He presided at the declamation exercises, and at the "forensic disputations" and extemporaneous debates, which then formed a regular and useful

[13] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. IV, pp. 444-445.
[14] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 209.
[15] *Autobiography and Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher*, Vol. I, p. 39.

part of college training. He also taught a little Hebrew, and every Saturday at evening prayers explained the Savoy Confession of Faith.[16]

In addition to his teaching and administrative labors, Stiles was always carrying on astronomical observations, making antiquarian researches, studying Oriental languages, entertaining distinguished visitors, corresponding with the literati of Europe on every subject under heaven, and keeping up diaries, itineraries, and thermometrical registers. He was indeed, for his time, a "universal scholar." Everything interested him, and he turned from one subject to another without any effort. His diary records in successive sentences the death of his wife and observations on the planets, the passing away of a friend and the number of varieties of fish in Newport harbor. Open it anywhere and it will be found quaint, interesting, and informing. The breadth of his intellectual horizon is well symbolized by his portrait, painted in 1771. It is thus described by Dr. Holmes:

> He is drawn in a teaching attitude, with the right hand on the breast, and the left holding a bible. Behind, and on his left side, is a part of a library; a folio shelf, with Eusebius, Livy, Du Halde's history of China, the Zohar, the Babylonian Talmud, Aben Ezra, Rabbi Selomo Jarchi, Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, and Moreh Nevochim. On another shelf are Newton's Principia, Plato, Watts, Doddridge, Cudworth's Intellectual System, and the New-England divines, Hooker, Chauncy, Davenport, Mather, Cotton.
>
> At his right hand stands a pillar. On the other shaft is a circle, and one trajectory around a solar point, as an emblem of the Newtonian, or Pythagorean, system of the sun, planets, and comets. At the top of the visible part of the pillar, and on the side of the wall, is an emblem of the intellectual World.[17]

That his sympathies were equally broad is evident. This may be seen in his humanitarianism, to which the eminent Unitarian leader, Dr. Channing, bore eloquent testimony.[18] It extended even to matters of religion—a rare thing in eighteenth century Connecticut. He advocated the union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and worshiped in orthodox meetinghouses, Episcopalian and Catholic

[16] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 360.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[18] Kingsley, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 74, 75.

churches, and at the Jewish Synagogue in Newport. He even opposed President Clap for his unwillingness to admit books of a Deistical tendency into the College Library, and wrote to him a strong letter, saying that "the only way is to come forth into the open field, and dispute the matter on even footing."[19]

A century after his death the author of the *Literary History of the American Revolution,* referring to his liberal tendencies and wide interests, says that "he threw open every window of his mind, toward every quarter of the heavens and earth" and "came to have some valid claim, according to the standards of his time, to be called mathematician, astronomer, chemist, electrician, meteorologist, linguist, orientalist, antiquarian, jurist, theologian, Biblical translator and exegete."[20] But he was such an ardent patriot that his breadth could not carry him so far as to have any commendation for Tories!

Dr. Stiles died in New Haven. His monument, with an illegible Latin inscription, may be seen in the Grove Street Cemetery. By his will his valuable manuscripts were left to the College. Of these the *Literary Diary* from 1769 to 1795 has been published under the authority of the Yale Corporation. His portrait is owned by the University, and there is a memorial window in Battell Chapel.

There are two lives, the first by his son-in-law, Abiel Holmes, father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the second by Professor Kingsley, in Sparks' "American Biography." The former is the more important.

Yale College Febry 1783

Dear Sir

I had the Honor & great pleasure of receiving your Favor dated Ashly River Sep 29th last, tho not before the 28th of Jany last. No man shall go beyond me in rejoycing in the Glory and Immortality of Renown which General Green has acquired in being the Deliverer of the Southern States. I beg Leave to congratulate you on your Possession of Charlest.º & Restoration of

[19] Holmes, *Life of Ezra Stiles,* p. 79.
[20] Tyler, *Literary History,* Vol. II, p. 331.

civil Government to S° Carolina particularly after a Series of military Hardships, and Perils among Tories & false Brethren. And I trust we may soon congratulate one another upon a general Pacification among the belligerent Powers.

How great, how glorious has been this Warfare! What a figure will it make in the Annals & Histories of Mankind. We have fought the cause of Liberty for the World itself, & shown all Nations the systematical Way of an universal Emancipation from universal Tyranny. The 13 stripes & new Constellation will be displayed in Bengal and to Japan; and the names of Gen. Washington & Gen Greene as well as others will be mentioned with Honor in the Courts of Delhi & Pekin: for thither will our commerce soon carry the Account of the new American Republic.

Col° Balfour[21] (who married Col. Daytons Daughter in Newport) tho an European, was a genuine Son of Liberty: altho' his Brother was so much a Loyalist that he left N° Carolina & fled into Charlestowne. The Major [Colonel] in a Letter to his Wife dated Randolph C° N° Carolina Feb. 14 1782 says: "I live in Randolph C° which I still have the honor to represent in the Legislature of this State. I am above 200 mile from Georgetown, Washington &c & about 80 from the Cheraws and Cross Creeks." He & his Brother & Sister lately from Edinburg has settled down upon some new Lands; and he had sent for his Wife & Family from R. I. Jon^n [?] proposes they should adventure by Water to Wilmington, if the War might permit. As his & her Letters failed, he had just opened a Communic^n thro' the Moravians, with "Trangott Bagg, Esq, Merch^t Salem N° Car°." He was not only Member of N° Car° Assembly but L^t Colonel in the Militia & exerted himself so vigorously that he fell a sacrifice to Tory Malice & Vengeance and was barbarously killed March 12 1782 in his own house in Rand° County not far from Wacovia. M^rs Balfour desires me to forward the inclosed Letter to some of my Friends and to inquire for her the Circumstances of his Sister & the Estate. Should you have any intelligent friend in that part of Randolph C° would you be so kind as to ask him to wait upon Miss Balfour the maiden Sister or the little Daughter, and request of her to write herself to her Sister thro my hands, & also to give the Gentleman an account of the Colonel's Estate. . . . . Col. Balfour was my very intimate & worthy Friend, and in 1776 wrote vigorously in the Cause of Amer^n Liberty.

We have passed thro' various Scenes since we used to converse on Politics at M^r Stevens'. Yours, Sir, have been very useful, honours & glories. While General Washington & the Count de Rochambeau have gathered Laurels at Yorktown, you have reaped an Harvest of Laurels all over the extensive

[21] See Stiles, *Diary*, May 1, 1774, May 20, 1782, etc.

states of Georgia & the Carolinas. Your Brother Generals & other Compatriot Officers & Soldiers in the Southern Division of the Amer[n] [Army have well served] the public, and will transmit their names to posterity with app[roval.] I have never felt a discouraged moment since the Battle of Lexington: having constantly and with undoubted Assurance believed that the Most High would effect our Deliverance, & establish Liberty in America. I love my Country, & glory in the American Army. Gov[r] Green's son is with us in the College, an assiduous Student & an amiable young Gentleman. Please to give my Respects to your Lady, Son & Dr. Flagg[?]. Wishing you every Blessing, I have the honor to be, D[r] Sir,

Your affectionate Friend & most humble serv[t]

EZRA STILES

Gen. Greene—

This letter is referred to in Stiles' *Diary* for February 25, 1783, which supplies the missing day of the month in the date. The entry reads "25 Writing letters to Gov. Trumb. & Gen. Greene." This is, of course, Nathanael Greene, whose reputation as a military officer and as a patriot is exceeded by that of Washington alone among the generals of the Revolutionary army. President Stiles first became acquainted with Greene when the former was a pastor in Newport, and the latter was a youth of about twelve.[22] Stiles gave him advice regarding his studies, introduced him to the great English writers, Locke, Watts, and Swift, and was of educational service to him in other ways. The friendship was formed most casually as the result of a chance meeting in a bookshop. Young Greene, in his simple Quaker dress, showing clearly the marks of its wearer's life of manual labor, entered and said that he wished "to buy a book." He was somewhat embarrassed when asked to name the volume, and Dr. Stiles tried to relieve him.[23] From that day forward he was a frequent visitor at the parsonage, whose occupant was ever ready to guide him in his home reading and study. For this help the General was always grateful, while the frequent references in his *Literary Diary* show that President Stiles followed his friend's military career

[22] Appleton, *American Biography*, Article on Greene, Vol. II, p. 750.
[23] Kingsley, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 42.

with the keenest interest. The University owns the original portrait of General Greene painted by Colonel Trumbull, from recollection, in 1792. It is a miniature and may be seen in the School of the Fine Arts.

The brilliant campaign in the South referred to in the letter was Greene's greatest military achievement. He succeeded Gates in command of the Southern forces at Charlotte, North Carolina, in December, 1780, finding an effective army of twice his strength before him, and the Carolinas full of the "Tories & false Brethren" mentioned in the letter. The task ahead was a most difficult one, but his strategy and persistency brought about the retreat of Cornwallis, the defeat of other officers, and finally the occupation, December 14, 1782, of Charleston, the only remaining British stronghold in the South. It was this great achievement, of which Stiles had just heard, that is the subject of special congratulation at the beginning of the letter. He lets the American eagle scream rather vigorously for so young a bird, but underneath it all is the splendid patriotism of the man who "never felt a discouraged moment since the Battle of Lexington."[24]

Stiles' belief in an independent America antedated the Declaration of 1776. It had been a growing conviction with him for years. In a letter to an English correspondent, in 1774, he used these prophetic words, which he might well have remembered with pride when he wrote to General Greene as the great struggle was drawing to a close: "There are many means of redress. We shall not be discouraged if all prove unsuccessful, till we come to the last,

[24] Chancellor Kent's words from his Phi Beta Kappa Address at Yale form an appropriate commentary, and carry weight as coming probably from Ezra Stiles' most eminent pupil: "President Stiles' zeal for civil and religious liberty was kindled at the altar of the English and New England puritans and it was animating and vivid. A more constant and devoted friend to the Revolution and independence of this country never existed. He had anticipated it as early as the year 1760 and his whole soul was enlisted in favor of every measure which led on gradually to the formation and establishment of the American Union. The frequent appeals which he was accustomed to make to the heads and hearts of his pupils, concerning the slippery paths of youth, the grave duties of life, the responsibilities of man, and the perils and hopes and honors and destiny of our country, will never be forgotten by those who heard them; and especially when he came to touch, as he often did, with 'a master's hand and prophet's fire' on the bright vision of the future prosperity and splendor of the United States."

the success of which is indubitable. . . . . If oppression proceeds, despotism may force an annual Congress; and a public spirit of enterprise may originate an American Magna Charta, and Bill of Rights, supported with such intrepid and persevering importunity, as even sovereignty may hereafter judge it not wise to withstand. There will be a Runnymede in America."[25]

[25] Kingsley, *Life of Ezra Stiles*, p. 48.

Noah Webster

Class of 1778

Born, October 16, 1758; Died, May 28, 1843

Lexicographer

The author of Webster's Dictionary might, perhaps, better be classed under Educational Leaders than under Scholars, but there is room for difference of opinion, and the latter course is chosen to show the continuity of the philological tradition at Yale. He was born in West Hartford, Connecticut. His father was a farmer, some of whose traits of character may be inferred from the fact that he was both a "Deacon" and a "Captain." He mortgaged the farm so as to give his son a college education.

In his Freshman year General Washington, accompanied by General Charles Lee, passed through New Haven on his way to Cambridge, where he was to take command of the American army. Webster has recorded the incident:

> These gentlemen lodged in New Haven, at the house of the late Isaac Beers, and in the morning they were invited to see a military company of students of Yale College perform their manual exercises. They expressed their surprise and gratification at the precision with which the students performed the customary exercises then in use. This company then escorted the generals as far as Neck Bridge, and this was the first instance of that honor conferred on General Washington in New England. It fell to my humble lot to lead this company with music.[1]

The Beers house was on Chapel Street, where the Hotel Taft now stands. Neck Bridge is where State Street crosses Mill River. The date of the incident which Webster records with such pride was Thursday, June 29, 1775. That the students did themselves credit on this occasion may be inferred from a contemporary newspaper account. It refers to "a company of young gentlemen belonging to the seminary in this place, who made a handsome appearance, and

[1] Scudder, *Noah Webster*, p. 5.

whose expertness in the military exercises gained them the approbation of the generals."[2] The College had been in a state of excitement for two months. The first news of the Battle of Lexington had reached the students April 21, two days after it had taken place. A Sophomore, Ebenezer Fitch, who was later the first President of Williams College, mentioned the incident in his diary: "Today tidings of the Battle of Lexington, which is the first engagement with the British troops, arrived at New Haven. This filled the country with alarm and rendered it impossible for us to pursue our studies to any profit."[3] As a result the students were largely dispersed, but most had returned before Washington's visit. Patriotic feeling among the undergraduates ran high. One student, who was suspected of sympathy with the British, was socially ostracized by his classmates. They appointed a committee to inform him of the rumors that he was "a professed enemy" of the country. The committee sent him a dignified letter, to which he replied in a brief communication addressed "To the Honorable and Respectable Gentlemen of the Committee, now residing in Yale College:"

> May it please your Honors, ham-ham-ham,
> Finis cumsistula popularum gig.
> A man without a head has no need of a wig.[4]

On receiving this insulting but meaningless note the committee, after duly hearing the evidence against their fellow student, advertised him "as an enemy to his country," by a notice posted on the door of the Dining Room.[5] Some of the classes also voted to abstain from tea drinking until the obnoxious duties were removed.[6] A student company was formed, and a town meeting requested the Governor to allow "100 stands of arms to be lodged in the Library."[7] Webster shared so heartily in the rising tide of patriotic feeling that in his

[2] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 12.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[4] Barber, *History and Antiquities of New Haven*, 1st Edition, p. 85.
[5] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 546. See *Connecticut Journal*, August 30, 1775.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 545.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 598.

Junior year he joined his father's militia company for the expedition against Burgoyne, but the British General had surrendered before the arrival of these volunteers.

The condition of the country involved an interrupted college course. At one time the students were sent away for several weeks, under their respective tutors. Webster went to Glastonbury, under Tutor Buckminster.[8] The College was affected not only by the popular excitement, but by poverty. Webster writes that "the steward of the college could not supply the necessary provisions of the table, and the students were compelled to return to spend several months at home."[9] These disturbed conditions are also reflected in the journal of a man who graduated a year ahead of Webster. Here are some entries in February, 1777:

> Feb. 1. To-day we began the 3d vol. of Locke and I got a quart of rum at Atwater's at 2s. per quart. 3. Expect to declaim soon; read arguments to-day and drank a mug of flip at night. 4. Declaimed this morn. and plainly showed to the wondering scholars my immense eloquence. 8. The present nocturnal assemblies and the tumultuous and riotous proceedings of the mob in this town are sufficient to strike any sensible person with horror and raise his indignation against a set of men that not only disgrace the name of *Whig* by being called by it, but human nature. 11. Began to read last night Vol. VII. Rollin's Ancient History, having finished Elements of Criticism. There is a very dangerous practice in college of those scholars who have had the smallpox going down to see those who are sick with it in town, by which those who have not had it are greatly exposed.[10]

Both as an undergraduate and through life Webster was a loyal member of Linonia. In 1802 he presented it with some books "and wishes it eternal prosperity,"[11] and in 1840, when eighty-two years of age, he visited his old society. The records bear this entry: "Hon Noah Webster during the evening visited the Soc. and interested us with a series of remarks about the 'olden time,' and presented to the Soc. a relic of other days; which was ordered by vote of Soc. to be hung up in the Hall."[12] In Stiles' *Diary* there is this testimony to

[8] Scudder, *Noah Webster*, p. 7.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[10] Journal of Elijah Backus; from *Connecticut Quarterly*, Vol. I, for 1895, p. 356.
[11] MS. Records of Linonia, for April 23, 1802.
[12] *Ibid.*, for October 21, 1840.

the abilities which the future lexicographer was developing as an undergraduate:

> The Seniors disputed forensically this day a two fold Question "Whether the Destruction of the Alexandrine Library, and the Ignorance of the Middle Ages caused by the Inund[a] of the Goths & Vandals, were Events unfortunate to Literature?" They disputed inimitably well; particularly Barlow, Swift, Webster, Gilbert, Meigs, Sage &c"[13]

Of these young men the first three and Meigs rose to eminence. They are referred to at length in these volumes.

The Class of 1778 was the first to receive degrees under President Stiles, and the latter gives in his diary an interesting account of the final examinations (July 23) and of the Commencement exercises in September. Webster and his classmates were thus put to the test: "the Consessus Examinatorius proceeded & examined the cand. in the Languages, part[y] in Cicero de Orat. & the Greek Testament. A Recess of half an hour. Then resuming the Exercise, the examination proceeded thro' the circle of the sciences."[14] The same afternoon Webster had the honor of delivering a Cliosophic Oration, which the always minute Stiles records as lasting sixteen minutes.

In October, 1779, Webster received from his former tutor, Mr. Buckminster, a friendly letter of advice and counsel. It is not hard to read between the lines that the latter felt that the young student was in danger of becoming both headstrong and conceited:

> The independent spirit which was peculiar to you as a Class I am sensible exposed you and will still expose you to errors and mortifications. I was however pleased to see it because it assured me that you would not be wanting in attempts to do something for your honor, tho' you are sensible it made it more difficult to instruct and lead you. . . . . The resolutions that you form in your Letter are good, to obtain a knowledge of your own Country, of the genius, manners and police [policy] of our fellow citizens is commendable, but you must endeavor not to be forward in applying for this knowledge to persons with whom you have but a slight acquaintance, nor be too frank in opening your heart to them. . . . . Such is the perverseness of human nature they will be disposed to ridicule you and perhaps set you down among those who have too high an opinion of their own importance. It is impossible that young Gentlemen upon receiving the honors of

[13] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 284.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

any Academy should be thoro' Masters of every Art that is necessary for going thro' this crooked world,[.] at Yale College they get . . . . their minds stored with a valuable collection of important Ideas, and the most of them are at least tolerable Scholars, but after this we want an acquaintance with Men and manners, this is acquired by travailing [sic], by the conversation of Gentlemen of improvement who have gone before us in this perverse world, and by a critical tho just observation of those around us.[15]

This was excellent advice for the subject of this sketch, and is not without its value to graduating students of American universities today.

His class contained as large a proportion of able men as any class ever graduated from Yale.[16] Competition with them did much to develop his abilities, and to strengthen his character. His continued interest in his Alma Mater was shown by his establishing an essay prize, as duly recorded by President Stiles:

Rec^{d} Lett. from Noah Webster Esq. of 2^{d} Inst. endowg Yal. Coll. with £6 to £8 p ann or one p cent. of his *Institute* sold in Connecticutt, for the best Composition on belles Lettres, Ethics & moral Philosophy exhibited & adjudged in May annually.[17]

Mr. Webster's deed states that the gift was made "for the Consideration of my Affection and good Will towards Yale College in Connecticutt, and of my desire to advance the Progress of Science, and Morality. . . . ." It contains the following interesting proviso reflecting his moral ideals:

That no Person shall be entitled to the Premium aforesaid, who shall, after the Date of this Grant, have been convicted of any Breach of the Laws of said College, punishable with public Admonition, Suspension, or Expulsion: or who shall have a general well founded Reputation of having been guilty of Seduction, or who shall have been known to have ever given or received a Challenge to fight a Duel.[18]

When he returned home after Commencement with his Bachelor's diploma, his father handed him eight dollars, in depreciated Continental currency, and told him that in the future he must take care of himself.[19] The years immediately following were spent in teaching

[15] Ford, *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 34.
[16] See lists in Appendix, Vol. II.
[17] *Diary*, March 4, 1790, Vol. III, p. 382. The prize was awarded from 1791 to 1795.
[18] MS. Records of Mr. Webster's Donation, p. 2.
[19] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, Vol. I, p. 474.

school and reading law. In 1781 he became an M.A.,[20] presenting an essay on a theme suggestive of his life purpose, "the Universal Diffusion of Literature as introductory to the Universal Diffusion of Christianity."[21] At the same time he was called upon to defend the negative of the question, *An variarum gentium linguarum et colorum diversitas regioni, sive ullis causis naturalibus, ascribenda sit.*

Later he served as head-master of schools in Sharon, Connecticut, Goshen, New York, and Philadelphia, edited various newspapers in New York City, delivered peripatetic lectures on the English language, devoted much time to securing the adoption of copyright laws by the several states and by Congress, practiced law in Hartford, made a careful study of epidemic diseases, and held various public offices. He was elected a member of the state's General Assembly (1800-1807), an alderman of New Haven, and a judge of the County Court. But these occupations were merely incidents in his life. His major work, his main support, and his most lasting service, came from teaching the American people through his books. He became the leading lexicographer, and one of the greatest educators that the country has produced. His literary labors were mostly accomplished in New Haven, where he lived from 1798 to 1812, and, except for absence in Europe, from 1822 until his death. His New Haven residence is still standing—the Trowbridge house, on the southwest corner of Temple and Grove Streets.

His bibliography contains over fifty titles, about half books and half pamphlets. Of these the two volumes which had the most far-reaching influence were *The American Spelling Book,* which first appeared with this title in 1789,[22] and *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language,* published in 1806, thoroughly remade in *An American Dictionary of the English Language,* in 1828, and later further expanded in the many editions of the standard "Webster."

[20] He also received the LL.D. in 1823.

[21] Stiles, *Diary,* Vol. II, p. 554.

[22] His first publication appeared in 1783. It was the Spelling Book but bore this elaborate title: *A Grammatical Institute, of the English Language, comprising an easy, concise, and systematic Method of Education, designed for the use of English Schools in America. . . . .*

He accomplished to an extraordinary degree the purpose set forth in the preface to his Spelling Book: "To diffuse an uniformity and purity of language in America, to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in the trifling differences of dialect and produce reciprocal ridicule, to promote the interest of literature and the harmony of the United States, is the most earnest wish of the author, and it is his highest ambition to deserve the approbation and encouragement of his countrymen."[23] The book's reception was phenomenal. It became even more of a household necessity than the New England Primer of our forefathers. In 1814 and 1815 the sales averaged 286,000 copies annually, which would be equivalent, considering the difference of population, to a sale a century later of over ten times this number. In 1847 it was stated that about twenty-four million copies had been published, and that the sale was averaging a million a year.[24] Such was the success of a book, which, owing to the indifference of publishers, he might not have succeeded in placing on the market, had it not been for the financial help of his classmate, Barlow (q.v.), and of another Yale man, John Trumbull (q.v.). It is also worth recording that it was this same volume of about one hundred and fifty pages, supported by its author's earnest plea, that gave the first impulse to the passing of copyright laws by Congress and the states, while his dictionary was the first volume to take advantage of the national law.[25]

It was his royalty of less than one cent per copy on the "Speller" that supported Webster during the two decades at New Haven and Amherst, when he worked on his most useful publication and most permanent monument—the dictionary. This was printed in 1828, and "contained 12000 words and 40000 definitions"[26] not then to be found in any similar volume. His purpose in publishing this masterly work was as much patriotic as it was scientific or literary.

[23] Quoted by Scudder, *Noah Webster*, p. 38.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[26] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. VI, p. 417.

NOAH WEBSTER

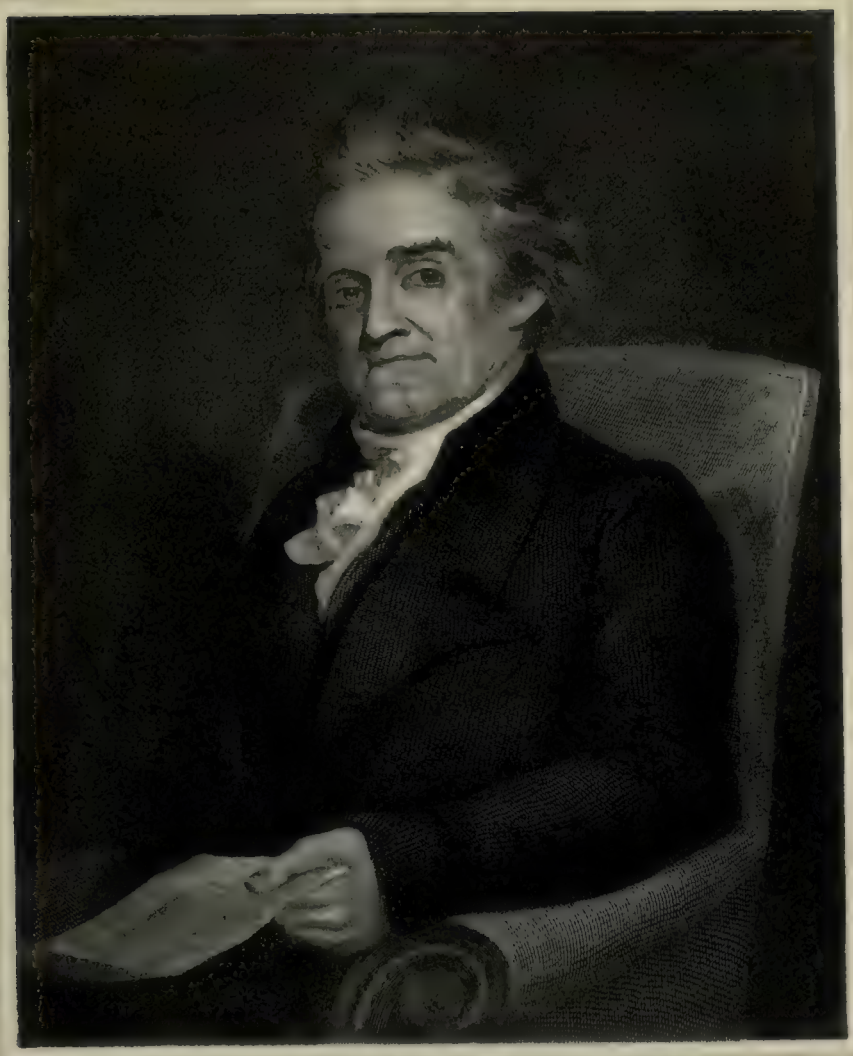
CLASS OF 1778

He accomplished to an extraordinary degree the purpose set forth in the preface to his Spelling Book: "To diffuse an uniformity and purity of language in America, to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in the trifling differences of dialect and produce reciprocal ridicule, to promote the interest of literature and the harmony of the United States, is the most earnest wish of the author, and it is his highest ambition to deserve the approbation and encouragement of his countrymen." The book's reception was phenomenal. It became more of a household necessity than the New England Primer of our forefathers. In 1814 and 1815 the sales averaged 300,000 copies annually, which would be equivalent, considering the difference of population, to a sale a century later of over ten times this number. In 1847 it was stated that about twenty-four million copies had been published, and that the sale was averaging a million a year.[25] Such was the success of a book, which, owing to the indifference of publishers, he might not have succeeded in placing on the market, had it not been for the financial help of his classmate, Barlow (q.v.), and of another Yale man, John Trumbull (q.v.). It is also worth recording that it was this same volume of about one hundred and fifty pages, supported by its author's earnest plea, that gave the first impulse to the passing of copyright laws by Congress and the states, while his dictionary was the first volume to take advantage of the national law.[25]

It was his royalty of less than one cent per copy on the "Speller" that supported Webster during the two decades at New Haven and Amherst, when he worked on his most useful publication and most permanent monument—the dictionary. This was printed in 1828, and "contained 70000 words and 40000 definitions"[26] not then to be found in any similar volume. His purpose in publishing this masterly work was as much patriotic as it was scientific or literary.

[25] See Scudder, Noah Webster, p. 178.

[26] Appleton, American Biography, Vol. VI, p. 478.



The proposition that "a national language is a bond of national union" was one that he often repeated. "Every engine," he said, "should be employed to render the people of this country *national;* to call their attachments home to their own country; and to inspire them with the pride of national character."[27] That his work did much to accomplish this purpose cannot be denied. Some idea of the scholarly labor involved in preparing his *American Dictionary* may be seen from a letter to John Jay, in which he stated that his plan was "different from anything before attempted." He had "examined and collated the radical words in twenty languages, including the seven Asiatic languages, or rather dialects, of the Assyrian stock."[28] In spite of his unquestioned learning the results were much criticised at the time, especially because of his simplifications of spelling, such as changing words from the French ending in re to er (i.e., theater, etc.). These changes were a subject of national discussion, and the battle was, of course, carried into the universities. The Yale Phi Beta Kappa Society debated the question at least twice, deciding first in favor of Webster and then against him.[29] But the extent of the field covered by his work, the excellence of the definitions, the many valuable appendices which the book contained, and the fact that it was the product of American scholarship, so commended it to the people of this country that it soon became a standard book of reference.

Of Webster's other publications little need be said here. He published a new version of the Bible, which to his lasting regret did not meet with popular response. He wrote: "I consider this emendation of the common version as the most important enterprise of my life, and as important as any benevolent design now on foot; and I feel much hurt that my friends should discountenance the design."[30]

[27] Scudder, *Noah Webster,* p. 199.

[28] *Life and Writings of John Jay,* Vol. II, p. 421, quoted by Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 477.

[29] These debates were in 1792 and 1794, before the dictionary appeared, but after he had enunciated his principles of reformed orthography in his *Dissertations on the English Language,* published in 1789.

[30] Scudder, *Noah Webster,* p. 179.

Webster was very sensitive, and his exceptional success in some fields made him greatly disturbed if he did not receive the highest recognition in his every undertaking. An example of this was his irritation because the American people would not recognize him as the real father of the National Constitution. He claimed as much for himself in this work as Hannis Taylor, a hundred years later, claimed for another Yale Webster—Pelatiah (q.v.), of the Class of 1746. He had published a pamphlet,[31] in 1785, urging the establishment of a strong central government to take the place of the Confederation, and claimed that this was the first public proposal of the kind. His real services in this connection were well summed up in a letter from James Madison, later President Madison, written to Webster in 1805:

> The change in our government, like most other important improvements, ought to be ascribed rather to a series of causes than to any particular and sudden one, and to the participation of many rather than to the efforts of a single agent. It is certain that the general idea of revising and enlarging the scope of the federal authority, so as to answer the necessary purposes of the Union, grew up in many minds, and by natural degrees, during the experienced inefficacy of the old Confederation. The discernment of General Hamilton must have rendered him an early patron of the idea. That the public attention was called to it by yourself at an early period is well known.[32]

But notwithstanding his sensitiveness to criticism, and his exalted idea of his own importance, he was a man of sterling character, the soul of honor, and actuated by high ideals of public service. He combined in an unusual degree scholarship and citizenship, and at certain times, such as when Jay's Treaty with England was under consideration, his powerful pen was employed to national advantage. His mind had nothing subtle about it. He had little literary feeling and was lacking in a sense of humor. He was not brilliant or charming. His achievements were the result of a clear perception of the nation's need, a good mind, much shrewd Yankee common sense, and indefatigable industry. Because of these he did a work of large

[31] *Sketches of American Policy.*
[32] Scudder, *Noah Webster*, p. 113.

significance, which seems even more important as the years pass. He did more than anyone else to standardize the pronunciation and the orthography of the country. He was also a potent factor, through his text books and other writings, in educating two generations of Young America.

A delightful sketch of Webster was contributed by Mr. Horace E. Scudder to the "American Men of Letters" series. There is also a memoir by Professor Goodrich, prefixed to the 1847 edition of the Dictionary. Much original material, including correspondence, is given in the recently issued *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster,* by his granddaughter, Mrs. Ford.

Boston August 31st 1788

Mr. Babcock

Sir,

I have passed thro Hartford, but could not call on you—I was later than I expected on my return & could not stop one stage—For this I am sorry, but it cannot be helped—

I made you an offer in a letter, just before I went to Boston—To make the terms easier, I would make this alteration—that ten pounds only should be paid in cash—for the other twenty, I will take any articles of produce, that my father can accept as turn into cash—as corn, pork, West India produce &c. Better terms for 14 years I cannot offer—If you chuse not to accept, please to return me the copy, as I wish to get it printed here.

What think you of establishing a press at Windsor in Vermont or at the College or at Haverhill above? My books sell well there, & the country is populating fast—a press would do well there, for copy right of all parts of the Institute may be sold there.

I am Sir

Your very humble Servant

Noah Webster

This letter, addressed to a Hartford printer, probably refers to the publication of *Dissertations on the English Language,* published in Boston in 1789.

The letter shows Webster's lack of literary feeling. His friend John Trumbull (q.v.) could not have written such a colorless and

unattractive note. His spelling of "chuse" is noticeable. This was a form of orthography strongly favored by Webster, but it never gained popular favor.

An original sheet of the manuscript for his dictionary is added to the collection, giving the words and definitions from "bleach" to "blear."

JOSEPH EMERSON WORCESTER
Class of 1811
Born, August 24, 1784; Died, October 27, 1865
Lexicographer

Worcester and Webster are names that group themselves together in the public mind, so it seems natural that they should follow each other in this volume. But they were far from being warm friends. Their temperaments and attitudes of mind were very different. Webster did his work with the great public and its judgments always in mind. He wanted to influence the nation. Worcester was a much more modest and retiring scholar. Webster tried to change the language so as to conform to his ideals of what was right. Worcester was satisfied to exhibit his mother tongue as it was.

His father was a farmer who wrote much for the press. The son was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, the second in a family of fifteen, all of whom lived to adult age. The Worcesters moved, in 1794, to Hollis in the same state, where the boy worked on the farm, devoting his spare time to study. It is said that he often sat up until midnight reading Josephus, Rollin's *Ancient History,* and similar works, by the light of pitch pine knots. It was not until he was twenty-five that he was ready to enter college. Then, after preparation at various schools, including Andover, he entered the Sophomore class at Yale. He at once took high standing as a scholar. Membership in the societies of Phi Beta Kappa and of Linonia, and in the Moral Society, seems to have been the leading "extra curriculum activity" in his undergraduate course. He derived much benefit from their opportunities for literary development, and the records of Linonia contain many references to him. In his Junior year he "entertained the society with a very satirical and pleasing composition," debated "Is the study of the dead languages beneficial?", and made an earnest appeal to his fellow members for "punctuality

in attendance on the meetings of the Society"[1] in which he held many offices. In Senior year his interest in Linonia continued, as this extract from the minutes will show:

> The late president Mr. Wooster [sic] then resigned the chair & the newly elected president began his office. Mr. Wooster then gave the Society a few excellent observations on the duty of the three lower classes to be spirited & constant in their attendance on & support of the Society as the senior class was so soon to leave them. He observed the great order & decency of deportment which the society had in the past transactions during his presidency & concluded by giving his good wishes for the future existence & welfare of the Society.[2]

At the last meeting of their class he was one of four to make "excellent valedictory remarks." Following these they "took an affectionate leave of the Society." Phi Beta Kappa was then largely devoted to debating. The debates in which he took formal part were on "Has Great Britain a right to search American Vessels?", which was decided in the affirmative, as late as July, 1811, "Are the Banks in the United States beneficial?", and "Which have the greater influence in forming a national character, moral or physical causes?" The moral causes won. He was also interested in the Moral Society, of which he was vice-president. "Mr. Worcester entertained the society with a dissertation on the translation of the Scriptures."[3] So runs the record, showing that his interest in linguistic studies went back to his youth.

It is perhaps worth while, before finishing with Worcester's undergraduate days, to turn aside from the career of this hard-working student, and get a glimpse of the less refined but more virile side of college life in his time. Under President Dwight's influence, contests between students and the Faculty were never serious, but undergraduates found a vent for their high spirits in troubles between Town and Gown. These gave rise to "Bullyism." Here is the account of an incident in Worcester's Senior year which gives an idea of this peculiar Yale institution:

> In the morning of that dark day, President Dwight called together the students

[1] MS. Records of Linonia, for June 7, 1810, and July 11, 1810.
[2] *Ibid.*, for March 17, 1811.
[3] Moral Society MS. Records, December 10, 1810.

in the chapel, and, without charging them with blame, informed them that he should be absent from the city during the émeute, which he thought would be best managed by the city authorities and the sheriff of the county. At midnight Bully Preston and myself went to the jail on the east side of the college green, and informed the jailer that, unless the two Yale prisoners should be liberated within the space of an hour, the force of the college would come to their deliverance at one o'clock. These scholars had been arrested during the evening, whilst the college yard had been invested by two or three thousand [sic!] of the belligerent town boys and their sympathizing friends, who, however, did not attempt to trespass on the yard, partly because the gates were defended by Bully Preston and his guards, and partly because a picket fence was not easily stormed, protected as it was by three hundred students and their teachers, assisted by the city police, who aided both parties by patrolling between them. The prisoners whose release had been demanded overtook us before we had reached the central college gate, and their surrender was accepted as evidence of the sympathy with which the city authorities regarded the conduct of the students. It is unnecessary to affirm that Bully Preston bore his knotty club high in air at all the gates of the college yard on that eventful night, and that Samson slept soundly after the Philistines had been dispersed. But, the day after, just before sunset, inasmuch as the hired sailors had called loudly for the College Bully on the preceding evening, even until midnight, Preston invited me to take a promenade on Long Wharf, which then supported only a few storehouses, most of which were at its junction with the mainland. We passed these crowded resorts of rollicking mariners on our way to the wharf without any interruption, but, on our return, the swaggering sons of old Neptune sallied forth by dozens, calling lustily for the College Bully. They all knew Preston by sight, and some of them had felt his bludgeon when trying to resist the college, on the foregoing evening, through the fortified yard; but now he was bare-handed, having no one to assist him but a man of ordinary size, whom they could scarcely descry at the side of the Goliath of Yale. So on they came, dozen after dozen, noisy as bull-frogs, and drunk as satyrs, making, as directly as they could, for the Bully of Yale. I stept aside and gave Preston an opportunity to allow the foremost of his pursuers to make the acquaintance of his right-hand fist, which sent him headlong into the splashing mire. Preston resumed his equanimity and walked on toward the college, whilst the sympathetic sailors remained behind, picking out the teeth which had been loosened in their sockets. Thus ended the riot of 1811, which settled the question of the prowess of the College Bully.[4]

After a few years of teaching in Salem, Massachusetts, where he prepared his *Geographical Dictionary* and his *Gazetteer of the United States,* he removed to Cambridge, where the remainder of his quiet and outwardly uneventful life was passed in the arduous toil of pre-

[4] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. II, p. 463.

paring reference works that could meet the twofold test of accurate scholarship and of broad utility. He published many historical and geographical manuals. One of these, *Elements of History, Ancient and Modern,* accompanied by an Historical Atlas, was very extensively used in American schools.

His work in lexicography began in 1828. The result was *Johnson's Dictionary, as improved by Todd and abridged by Chalmers, with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined.* In 1830 appeared his independent and important *Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory English Dictionary.* This received the highest commendation of scholars and of the public. Its extensive lists of words, with authorities for different spellings and pronunciations, were specially appreciated new features. Webster, always combative, accused the author of plagiarism, but the charge was unfounded. In 1846 Worcester published a *Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language,* which was the occasion of the "War of the Dictionaries," lasting many years. An unscrupulous London publisher, well appreciating the high reputation of both scholars, issued a pirated edition, stating on the title page that the dictionary was "compiled from the Materials of Noah Webster, LL.D., by Joseph E. Worcester." Of course the fraud was duly exposed, but it fanned into a storm the already ruffled waters of American lexicography.

After a period of retirement, owing to cataracts on his eyes, Worcester's various dictionaries followed each other in quick succession. The work was crowned by the publication, in 1860, of his quarto *Dictionary of the English Language,* with its now familiar illustrations, then used for the first time in a work of this character. It is fair to say that at the time of publication, this dictionary, prepared with the coöperation of many distinguished assistants, was placed by the general verdict of American and European scholars "at the head of English lexicographical literature."[5]

[5] Ezra Abbot, in *Proceedings of American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. VII, p. 113.

Such was Dr. Worcester's career. The residence of almost half a century in Cambridge was really interrupted only once, when he went to Europe for rest and study. It is the typical, unromantic, but productive career of an eminent scholar. His work was characterized by indefatigable industry, sound judgment, good taste, and clearness of expression. The author of his biography in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* truly says of him:

> The tendency of his mind was practical rather than speculative. As a lexicographer, he did not undertake to reform long-established anomalies in the English language: his aim was rather to preserve it from corruption; and his works have certainly contributed much to that end. In respect both to orthography and pronunciation, he took great pains to ascertain the best usage; and perhaps there is no lexicographer whose judgment respecting these matters in doubtful cases deserves higher consideration.[6]

His labors were undertaken and carried through in the most conscientious spirit, and his whole life was marked by the highest Christian ideals. He was patriotic, benevolent, and honorable. His many excellent dictionaries did much to maintain the purity of the English tongue in the new Republic, and to make American scholarship respected in Europe. Absorption in this engrossing lexicographic work in Cambridge resulted in his being little in New Haven in his later years, but he kept in touch with the College through his correspondence with his friend, Professor Kingsley, and after the latter's death, to some extent, with Professor Gibbs. These letters are preserved in the University Library.

Cambridge, Sept. 26, 1855.

My dear Sir,

I do myself the pleasure,—and perhaps you the annoyance, which I hope you excuse,—to ask you to accept a copy of a small Dictionary.

Such a manual may be of no use to you; yet I presume to send it as a trifling token of great regard.

Yours truly,
J. E. Worcester

Hon. Richard Fletcher, LL.D.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 115.

Judge Fletcher was so eminent a leader of the New England Bar that Harvard, Brown, and Dartmouth all honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The letter refers to the important revision of Worcester's *Comprehensive Dictionary,* which appeared in 1855. Its form of expression is characteristic of its author's modesty. The handwriting and the engraving bear witness to this same trait.

Noah Porter

Class of 1831

Born, December 14, 1811; Died, March 4, 1892

Metaphysician, and President of Yale College

Dr. Porter was born in Farmington, Connecticut, where his father, a man of much ability, was pastor of the Congregational Church, and where his sister, Miss Sarah Porter, later established the well-known boarding school for girls. He naturally came to Yale College, as both his father and elder brother had graduated before him. The intellectual conditions which prevailed when he was an undergraduate have been described by a classmate:

> In the midst of this quickening of intellectual and spiritual life, it was our good fortune to have for our instructors the best representatives of the New England of their day, who had been trained themselves under the sober and conservative influences of the old regime and had no sympathy with the radical and revolutionary spirit which was even then beginning to show itself. President Day was ruling and teaching with his unsurpassed sobriety of judgment, and calm, clear intellect; Professor Silliman, Senior, was lecturing with unaffected elegance and giving all possible attractiveness to chemistry, mineralogy and geology; Professor Kingsley, the acutest of critics and the most thorough of scholars, was disciplining us in accurate scholarship, and inspiring us with an abhorrence of shams; Professor Goodrich, overflowing with enthusiasm, was training us in rhetoric and oratory and setting before us the great model of eloquence in *Demosthenes De Corona;* Professor Olmstead, whose zeal never flagged, was our teacher in mathematics and astronomy; and Professor Fitch, the college pastor and preacher, was in turn perplexing us by his metaphysical subtleties and thrilling us through and through by his matchless pathos.[1]

Porter's scholarship was excellent in all subjects, and exceptionally brilliant in mathematics. He delivered an oration at the Junior Exhibition "On the Philosophy of Literature," and one at Commencement "On the Man of Reflection." Linonia claimed his allegiance, and during the latter part of his course its exercises helped him to develop much strength as a debater. Among the special influences exerted upon him as an undergraduate none was greater than

[1] Rev. W. W. Andrews, in *Noah Porter—A Memorial by Friends*, p. 11.

the reading of Coleridge, so often a factor in broadening and deepening the horizon. His *Aids to Reflection* soon became the text book of a little group of students, of whom Porter and Atwater, later Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at Princeton, were conspicuous for enthusiasm.[2] The reading of Coleridge was important in developing Porter's literary style, as well as his thought. It also did much to cultivate his imagination—a faculty which was largely dormant when he entered college. A classmate sums up his later development in these words:

> In facility and felicity of utterance[3] he grew rapidly in our Junior and Senior years. I do not remember a more striking growth and transformation, intellectual and spiritual, than took place in him from the beginning of our Sophomore year, when I first knew him, to the time of our graduation. The sprightly boy had developed into the strength of manhood. The features of his subsequent character began to be clearly seen. Intellectually, he was of great accuracy and quickness in his mental movements, able to grapple with any problems, metaphysical or philosophical; a most acute reasoner, and a master of an exact and perspicuous and oft-times glowing style. Morally, he was of great simplicity of character, of a most genial disposition, broad in his sympathies, steadfast in his friendships, and of spotless purity of life. Spiritually, he was reverent, believing, of a catholic spirit which could see and appreciate goodness and truth beyond the limits of sect or party, while holding steadfastly the great realities of the Christian faith. Such was Noah Porter at the close of our college course.[4]

Mr. Andrews' reminiscences give such a clear picture of Noah Porter as an undergraduate that there is little need of comment. Of college organizations none meant more to him than the Philagorian Society, sometimes known as Phi Alpha, a literary organization consisting of nineteen members of the Class of 1831. Their primary object was "improvement in extemporaneous speaking." The society was formed in Sophomore year and continued in existence nearly two years, the meetings being held weekly, generally in a room on Orange Street. The ironclad oath of secrecy was characteristic of the period.

[2] *Ibid.*, see pp. 19, 20.

[3] This was partly due to lessons in elocution, for which he paid $3.75 in the first term of Junior year. His total college bill for this term (twelve weeks) was $30.20. This included tuition, board, room rent, breakage and incidentals. See MS. volume, "Yale College Term Bills," in Library.

[4] *Noah Porter—A Memorial*, p. 21.

It included these words: "You and each of you promise on your faith and honour, in presence of these witnesses, that you will never directly or indirectly, betray, discover nor reveal any of the laws, ceremonies or transactions of this Society."[5] Among the subjects for which Porter was entered as a formal debater were "Ought Capital Punishment to be abolished?" and "Ought Infidels to be allowed to testify in courts of Justice?" In his Senior year he delivered an oration before the society on "The Equal Cultivation of the Powers of the Mind," an early venture in a field which later produced his most important work.

After graduation he followed the example of most distinguished Yalensians by teaching school. He secured an excellent position—the rectorship of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, one of the oldest educational institutions in America, founded by a bequest of Governor Hopkins, who died in 1657. Then came two years in the college tutorship, where his experiences were similar to those of many others, and afforded equally valuable training:

> Three hours a day in recitation, with all the incidentals, teaches one the importance of saving and fixing his mind during the merest fragments of time. This I have not learned to do yet very perfectly, though with the necessity I make my will and practice to fall in to some extent. The situation thus far has proved a very pleasant and profitable one to me, with fewer difficulties and embarrassments than I had anticipated. The only way to succeed seems to be to keep right on without asking yourself or others as to the results. This is a kind of action which you know is not altogether natural to me, so that a little practice will be an advantage.[6]

During these years he also studied divinity, and in 1836, after being married to the daughter of his great teacher of theology, Professor Taylor, he became pastor of the Congregational Church in New Milford, Connecticut. He spent ten happy years in the pastorate, divided between this parish and the South Congregational Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. He then returned to Yale, there to spend the remainder of his life. The chair to which he was elected was the newly established professorship of Moral Philosophy and

[5] MS. Constitution and Records of the Philagorian Society, p. 5.
[6] *Noah Porter—A Memorial by Friends*, pp. 30, 31. Letter to his father.

Metaphysics. This he filled with distinction for nearly half a century, and it was in connection with its demands that his most important literary work was done. The list of his publications is a long one. It includes *The Human Intellect, Elements of Intellectual Science, Elements of Moral Science,* and *Fifteen Years in the Chapel of Yale College.* He was a metaphysician of note, and a man of much personal influence on undergraduates, whom he led to high ideals through his teaching in philosophy and ethics.

Dr. Theodore Munger (q.v.), one of the most eminent of the students under Porter, has given this testimony as to his personal relationship to the student body:

> He introduced what may be termed the modern spirit into the relations of the faculty to the students. It was through and in him that the old-time stiffness and dignity and distance were broken down, and the students were admitted into human and friendly relations to their instructors. There was kindness and fidelity enough under the old regime, but no close contact, no interchange or mutuality, and no man-to-man friendliness. Dr. Porter's good sense and modern spirit broke through all this, and led him to put himself in friendly relations to the students, with all the traditional dignity and stiffness and distance left out, or exchanged for a hearty and natural greeting, a ready smile, and a certain indefinable air of comradeship. It made him the most popular instructor of his day, and one of the most useful. If the lessons in the Human Intellect were not learned as well as they might have been, those in the human heart were not missed, and as between the two the latter must have the precedence.[7]

Dr. Porter's term as President of Yale College lasted from 1871 to 1886. It was a period marked by steady growth, but not by any striking new departures, for the President was most conservative in his educational views. While Harvard was changing the time-honored curriculum, and expanding rapidly under the vigorous and liberal leadership of Eliot, Yale was moving along slowly and cautiously under Porter. He emphasized Greek and Latin as the only legitimate basis of a liberal education, preferred that the natural sciences should not be emphasized in the Arts course, opposed rapid advances of the elective system, believed in required attendance at all college

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 63. President Dwight as a tutor was influential in bringing about this change. See his *Memories of Yale Life and Men.*

exercises, and in the paternal relationship of the Faculty towards the students.[8] Many important additions to the University's equipment were made in his administration, including Lawrance Hall, the old Sloane Physics Laboratory, Battell Chapel, Dwight Hall, the Peabody Museum, West Divinity (Taylor) Hall, and the Observatory. The Sheffield Scientific School, which President Porter seemed to wish as independent of the old College as possible, showed great progress under the able direction of Professor Brush, as did the Law School under Dean Wayland. Among the changes introduced were increasing the dignity of the Master of Arts degree, for which the requirements, until 1874, had been perfunctory, and the consolidation and transfer to the care of the University of the libraries of Linonia and Brothers in Unity. But the honor for these advances must be shared by many. President Porter was noted as a thinker in his chosen field, and as a personal force among the students, but he was not distinguished for executive capacity, or for university leadership. It is even probable that his reputation among educators would today be higher if he had always remained a professor, but the fact that a man of his character and personality was in the President's chair meant much for generations of college students. One of them, shortly after his death, prepared these verses, which fitly expressed the feeling of affection for him:

Alike all loved him: careful student, drone,
Scapegrace or steady man; all knew
His mild reproof was for their help alone,
And his reproofs were few.
No man remembers him to have his heart
Tingle with some keen unforgotten smart.

No gift of comeliness had he, scant grace
Of bearing, little pride of mien—
He had the rugged old-time Roundhead face,
Severe and yet serene.
But through those keen and steadfast eyes of blue
The soul shone, fearless, modest, strong and true.

[8] See his book entitled *The American Colleges and the American Public.*

And when at times he smiled, one always thought
Of early, rare New England springs—
Of sudden fleeting April sunbeams caught
Amid some farm, that clings
Rock-sown, ill-paying him who strives to till,
Along the slope of a New England hill.

He sought the truth; the vision of his mind,
Discerning, clear, he would not dim
With half-true compromise; he cast behind
All that rang false to him,—
His search is ended now, his labor done,
His requiescat well and fully won.

The college elms are sleeping; winter still
Broods in the sap; but soon their veins
Under the waxing April suns will thrill,
And soon come April rains;
And they will wake, and bow themselves, and wait
For sight of one for whom they wake too late.[9]

Such was Noah Porter. He was a scholarly metaphysician and an able teacher of ethics, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Doctor of Laws, a faithful college president, a frequent contributor to the *New Englander,* and editor-in-chief of Webster's *Dictionary.* He was offered the position of Minister to England, because, as President Hayes said at the Yale Commencement of 1880, he wanted "a man reared up to the full stature of a mental and moral manhood . . . . the best type of American character."[10] The students who graduated under him, and other friends, have erected the Porter Gateway in his honor.

A good idea of his character, life, and work may be obtained from *Noah Porter—A Memorial by Friends,* quoted in the text, and from President Dwight's sketch of him in his *Memories of Yale Life and Men.*

[9] Robert Cameron Rogers (B.A. 1883), *Noah Porter—A Memorial by Friends,* p. 74. Mr. Rogers, who died in 1912, was the author of *For the King and Other Poems.* His poem, *The Rosary,* set to music by Ethelbert Nevin, was very popular.

[10] *Noah Porter—A Memorial by Friends,* p. 140.

New Haven June 1. 1857

Dr. Francis Lieber

My dear Sir

I did not think to write to you again so soon but a paragraph which has gone the rounds of the newspapers has led me to reflect a little upon the vacant chair for Mental Philosophy at Columbia College & these thoughts lead me to ask if you know who are the prominent candidates for the post. What is the proper method of bringing before the Trustees the name or names of any person who may wish to be considered. I write for myself & also for another individual. I cannot say that if the post were offered me, that I would accept it—but the impossibility of living with any comfort upon my present salary (for any person who has no private fortune) & the desire to be free from an excessive burden of cares simply pedagogical—have led me to propose the inquiries which I have made. If the information can be given without impropriety on your part, I should be glad to receive it.

Very Respectfully

Yr friend & servt

N. Porter

This letter was referred by Professor Lieber to Samuel B. Ruggles (B.A. 1814), one of the most influential Columbia Trustees, with this endorsement: "Prof. Porter is now prof. of mental and moral philosophy in Yale College. He is a very learned man, has been in Europe, corresponds with the Niebuhrs, has published some things, and enjoys a high reputation." Lieber's *Manual of Political Ethics* was edited by President Woolsey. This, and his *Civil Liberty and Self-Government,* were at one time used as text books at Yale. When Professor Porter was considering the possibility of leaving New Haven because of inability to live with comfort on his salary, it was only $1,800 a year. It seems small in view of salaries of $4,000 to $5,000 today, but these in turn will seem inadequate to future generations. The salary increases up to this time in President Woolsey's administration had been noticeable. A decade earlier they were $1,140 (having been increased from the $1,000 basis reached in 1810), in 1852 they were increased to $1,300, in 1854 to $1,500, and in 1855 to $1,600. This steady increase of professorial salaries did much to raise the scholarly standing of the University.

James Hadley
Class of 1842

Born, March 30, 1821; Died, November 14, 1872
Classical Philologist

No Yale scholar has made a deeper impression on discriminating minds than James Hadley. He was born in Fairfield, Herkimer County, where his father was Professor of Chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York. It is interesting, in view of the later services of the Hadley family to Yale, to know that this able physician came to New Haven in 1818 and spent several months at the College. His purpose, as expressed in his journal, was "to acquire some practical knowledge of Botany and Mineralogy, sciences which are rapidly and deservedly coming into notice." He occupied a room in the "Medical College," now Sheffield Hall, attended the lectures of Professor Silliman (q.v.) and others, and did a good deal of botanizing in the neighborhood, under the guidance of Dr. Eli Ives (B.A. 1799). An account of this experience entitled "An Old Time Pilgrimage in Pursuit of Science" was published in the *New England Magazine,* for February, 1902.

James Hadley's early education was received from his father and from Dr. Chassell of the Fairfield Academy. At the time he entered Yale he prepared an interesting record of his studies. He had read Virgil at eight, and Tacitus and Cicero at nine. When ten years old he began Greek, and when fifteen he learned the elements of Hebrew. When sixteen he was so far advanced intellectually that he was elected a regular assistant in the academy—a position which he held until he left it, at his own volition, to enter college. President Woolsey conducted his entrance examination in Greek, and was so impressed with his attainments that he admitted him to the Junior class. The entries

from the record mentioned above are worth quoting in full for the first three years:

1828 [seven years old] First term. Reviewed Latin Grammar (Adams').
Read Historia Sacra, 140 sections
Second term. Virgil { This summer made lame by an accident
Third term. Virgil {
1829 [eight years old] First term. Virgil { In all nine books of the Aeneid and the Bucolics
Second term. Livy, one book.
Out of school for a whole year, much of the time very sick. Read Irving's Columbus, Knickerbocker, and a few other books.
1830 [nine years old] Third term. Tacitus, one book; Télémaque, five books; most of Hedge's Logic[1]

It is also worth recording that he had read all of Hume's *History of England* when fourteen, and that before going to college he had in his vacations studied German, Spanish, and Italian, and had done a large amount of miscellaneous reading in English literature, with keen appreciation of form as well as of substance.

His two years at Yale were marked by brilliant scholarship and by the growing breadth of his intellectual interests. Phi Beta Kappa, of which he was "Register," and Chi Delta Theta, gave him opportunities for debate and literary discussion. In the former we find him debating the time-worn question as to whether a republican or monarchical form of government is more favorable to literature. Chi Delta Theta, under Professor Kingsley's leadership, was at the height of its influence, and meant more to its members than it does today. It had a good classical library, and formed a literary center in every Senior class. It was in a measure a precursor of the Elizabethan Club. The reading and discussion of essays represented its main occupations.

He was not satisfied with merely doing well the required work of the curriculum, but took special courses in German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Calculus, and graduated as Salutatorian of his class, although his Latin Oration at Commencement was, as stated on the

[1] Porter, *Discourse . . . . at the Funeral Services of Professor James Hadley*, p. 26.

program, "pronounced by request" by another. The reason for this unusual procedure is thus explained in the Faculty Records: "James Hadley, Senior who was appointed Salutatorian requested to be excused from appearing at Commencement in consequence of lameness. The request granted on the condition that he would *write* & get some one to speak for him."[2]

Professor Hadley always retained the warmest affection for his college friends. He acted as Class Secretary, and opened his New Haven home to members at the thirtieth reunion, only a few months before his death. This intimate relationship was shown when thirteen members of the Class of 1842 acted as his pallbearers. The Class Record, published in 1878, has this reference to the impression which his personality made upon his college friends:

> Of the gentle, loving and blameless life of our classmate, it will not be necessary for us to go outside of the class for testimonials. Intellectually, he grew far beyond our appreciation of him when in college; but, in the kindlier and more generous impulses of the heart, he was the man of full stature when we parted with him in 1842. And however deeply his loss may have been felt by the fraternity of American scholars, none will remember him with tenderer or more reverend affection than his comrades of '42.[3]

As he once said in a speech before an alumni association, it was the "companionship of kindred natures" which made for him "the great enjoyment of college life."[4] That this was so developed in the case of one who entered late in the course, when undergraduate friendships had been already so largely formed, is evidence of his rare capacity for commanding respect and affection.

He remained in New Haven for a year of graduate study. It was at this time that his success in solving some difficult mathematical problems, published in a scientific journal, brought him to the attention of Benjamin Peirce, Professor of Mathematics in Harvard University, who was fond of saying that he could never forgive Yale College for making a man Professor of Greek who had the capacity

[2] MS. Faculty Records, June 1, 1842.
[3] *Biographical Record of the Class of 1842,* published in 1878, p. 86.
[4] *College Courant,* February, 1870.

to become the first mathematician of the country. He then entered the Divinity School, where he studied the greater part of two years. In 1845 he was elected a tutor in the College. Three years later he became an assistant professor, and on Professor Woolsey's resignation of the professorship of Greek, in 1851, he was elected his successor. This is in brief the outwardly uneventful career of a scholar who was cut off by death in middle age, before his brilliant talents had enabled him to do more than begin the constructive work in philology for which he was fitted.

His publications were mainly notices and reviews in the *New Englander,* and in the *American Journal of Science,* and papers before the American Oriental Society, of which he was at one time President, and before the American Philological Association, of which he was vice-president. He also wrote a standard *Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges.* His *Lectures on Roman Law,* delivered at Harvard and Yale, and edited by President Woolsey, and his *Essays Philological and Critical,* edited by William Dwight Whitney, were published after his death. These latter contained an introductory note by Professor Whitney, who paid the author of the essays this tribute:

> In extent and accuracy of knowledge, in retentiveness and readiness of memory, in penetration and justness of judgment, I have never met his equal. Whatever others may have done, he was, in the opinion of all who knew him most fully, America's best and soundest philologist, and his death, in the maturity and highest activity of his powers, is a national calamity, a calamity to the world of scholars. Especially painful and irreparable to me has been the loss of a fellow-student to whom I had for twenty-three years looked up as a teacher, a colleague and friend whose counsel and sympathy I had so long enjoyed, and the purity and elevation of whose character had been to me a model of human excellence. . . . .[5]

These are the words of one of America's most eminent scholars. They are reinforced by other opinions of men of learning. President Woolsey said that "he was a great scholar, great for any part of the world."[6] His scholarship won him a place on the American Commission for the

[5] *Essays Philological and Critical Selected from the Papers of James Hadley,* p. vi.
[6] Porter, *Memorial Discourse,* p. 5.

Revision of the Bible, and an election to the National Academy of Sciences, a rare honor for a philologist.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Professor Hadley was the breadth, the wide range of his learning. He was by profession a student of language. Here his scholarship was profound. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, Gothic, Armenian, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish were included in his field of knowledge.[7] He was an authority on comparative jurisprudence, and when the professorship of History was established in the College, he was seriously thought of for it.[8] He was a student of English literature, and both the *Nation* and the *New Englander* contained reviews by him, on such subjects as Furness' *New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare,* Tennyson's *Holy Grail,* Jean Ingelow's *Poems,* etc. His mathematical acquirements have been already mentioned, and having been a graduate student in divinity, he always kept abreast of the theological and philosophical thought of the time. Surely here was a universal scholar. President Dwight was doubtless justified in saying that "There was, indeed, no one in the whole company of Yale teachers, in those days, who equaled him in the range of his learning, or in the ease with which his mind worked in accordance with the outgoing of its impulses."[9] President Porter has borne similar testimony: "Whatever paper might be read . . . . whether the subject was known to have been familiar to him for years, or seemed remote from the range of his special studies; whenever Professor Hadley spoke, he spoke with authority, and was listened to with deference, because he spoke from certain knowledge and mature thought."[10] It was inevitable that a man who combined such breadth of interest and profound scholarship should deeply impress his students. One of the most distinguished of them, Hon. Andrew D. White (B.A. 1853), in a letter to the author, refers to "his won-

[7] See Porter, *Discourse,* p. 6, Professor Whitney's statement in Appendix to *Discourse,* p. 24, and Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 355.
[8] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 354.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 355.
[10] Porter, *Memorial Discourse,* p. 8.

derful scholarship and powers of thought," and states "that he dwells in my memory as in some respects the most gifted instructor I have ever known. . . . . had he been a professor in the German University, [he] would have drawn crowds to his lecture room from all parts of the world. . . . . In my opinion the best of his work, of which my class had experience, was in his readings of Homer with the class in the Sophomore year, and his decisions rendered after their classroom discussions during the year following. Nothing in its way could have been better." He was a man of learning, but he considered it a privilege to teach Freshmen, and exacted of them the most thorough work. He did not sympathize with those who felt that productive scholars should be freed from the routine of undergraduate teaching and administration, but gladly, and with unfailing courtesy, gave his time to meeting each and all of the old-fashioned duties of a college officer,[11] such as conducting examinations, preparing reports, serving on committees, and doing other things which many a young instructor now considers a waste of valuable hours which should be devoted to research alone. He consecrated his abilities and his time to the generous service of Yale, and all who knew him were grateful for the inspiration that he gave them. They knew that beneath his erudition there was the modesty and strength of a sterling manhood, and of a deep Christian faith. His memory is cherished by Yale because of his scholarship and character, and because he was the father of President Arthur Twining Hadley, who, at the time of his death, was a college Freshman. There is a memorial window in Battell Chapel.

The most adequate tribute to Professor Hadley is *A Discourse Delivered November 18, 1872, at the Funeral Services of Professor James Hadley, LL.D., of Yale College.* There is a valuable sketch of his life by Professor W. D. Whitney, in Kingsley's *Yale College,* Volume I, pp. 257-263.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 18-19.

[Statement regarding the Condition of the College]

Since January of this year (1869), the Sophomore and Junior classes have recited in divisions made, not as heretofore by an alphabetical scheme, but on the basis of scholarship, as determined by the average mark of their previous course. The arrangement is wholly experimental, the Faculty being desirous to inform themselves by a practical test as to its advantages and disadvantages. They were so far satisfied with its working during one term's trial, that they resolved to continue it for another term, and to divide for this second term on the basis of the average scholarship exhibited during the first. It can hardly be doubted that the plan is an advantageous one for the best scholars, who, when placed by themselves, may receive more advanced instruction than would be suitable for many of their classmates. It seems right that a College should consider first the interests of its most active and capable students: perhaps it is even bound to order its system of instruction so as to secure for this class of men the fullest development of their powers. If inferior students are thus deprived of the stimulus which the presence and example of better scholars would give them, the loss is not altogether without compensation, as the instructor can accommodate his teaching more fully to their state of knowledge and power of comprehension. Still it is the feeling of the Faculty that a much longer experience will be necessary to decide whether the new arrangement is advantageous on the whole, and ought to become the permanent order of the College.

The construction of the two dormitory buildings and of the chapel, for which the large donations, reported in last year's statement, have been received by the College, has not yet been entered on. But the prospect of their erection, as well as of the Peabody Museum and the new building for the Theological Department, has given interest and earnestness to a question sometimes raised before,—whether the College should leave its old site, to gain a more spacious one in some other part of New Haven. It is supposed that a situation could now be obtained more advantageous than may ever be obtainable hereafter; that a hundred thousand dollars would secure a lot of fifty acres, extending from Prospect Street to Whitney Avenue, about half a mile north of the residence of the late James Hillhouse, Esq. The very great beauty of such a position, on the ridge between East and West Rocks, and commanding the finest views of both, will be recognized by all the graduates. The present site, indeed, is not without its advantages: it has the old traditions of the institution; it looks out pleasantly on the public square; it is within easy access of the railroads; it feels the influence, at once enlivening and restraining, of the city-life around it. The only strong objection to it is its smallness.

Containing less than nine acres in the College square, with perhaps two more in the lots beyond Elm and High streets, it seems barely sufficient for the wants of the institution in the present and the immediate future. Nor will it be possible here, without very heavy expense, to buy up contiguous lots and houses, so as to provide for the growth and expansion to which we look forward in time to come. Apparently, the College buildings hereafter to be erected will have to be placed near each other, without much regard to the best architectural effects. Many of them must stand inconveniently near to city-streets, which with the growth of the town will become more and more crowded and noisy. The retirement and quiet desirable for academic pursuits will to a considerable extent be lost. It is evident, then, that the College needs more ground than it has, or is likely to have, in its present location. And it is scarcely less evident that, if a change of place is ever to be made, it should be made at once, before the erection of costly buildings which the removal would render useless.

Under these circumstances, the Faculty of the Academical Department, the one chiefly interested in the question, have thought it their duty to take up the whole subject, and to give it a prolonged and careful consideration. As the result, most of them agree in thinking, first, that the proposed change of location, if there were no financial difficulties in the way, would on the whole be advantageous for the College; but, second, that the financial difficulties are apparently so great and formidable, as to make the undertaking all but hopeless. To purchase the new site, to prepare it for occupation, to erect suitable edifices, dormitories, chapel, library, etc., would undoubtedly require an amount of money largely exceeding that which could be realized from selling the present ground and buildings: the excess could hardly fall below a quarter of a million, and might, not improbably, rise above a half-million of dollars. How is this great amount to be obtained? The College, it is plain, ought not to diminish, or even run the risk of diminishing, the scanty resources which it now has for its work of instruction. It could only call upon its graduates and friends to take the burden on themselves. But in view of the difficulties which have been found in raising much smaller sums, there seems little room to hope that such a call would be successful. Even if success were certain, there is a further question to be considered. Though a more spacious site is very greatly needed, this is by no means the only want, or the greatest want, of the College. It would be a misfortune, if the liberality of donors should be so far exhausted on this object, that no provision could be obtained for other, and not less urgent, necessities.

This is the major portion of Professor Hadley's manuscript

account of the affairs of the College (Academical Department) for the year 1869-1870. Prepared by him as a member of the Faculty, for there was no College Dean until Professor H. P. Wright was appointed in 1884, it was designed for the official pamphlet entitled *Some Statements respecting the Late Progress and Present Condition of the various Departments of the University.* The "Statements" were begun in 1868 and continued until 1886, when they were superseded, at the close of Dr. Dwight's first year in the presidency, by the President's *Report.*

This document shows that it is possible for a great scholar to be at the same time a wise administrator. Universities will have to come more and more to the position—very advanced for his time—that "it seems right that a college should consider first the interests of its most active and capable students." His discussion of Yale's real estate situation is of special interest in view of the University's purchase of the major portion of the Sachem's Wood Estate, a quarter of a century later, through the generous coöperation of Mrs. Russell Sage. This property cost $510,000—five times as much as the larger section to the north of it could have been secured for when Professor Hadley prepared his report.

As the statement, although entirely in Professor Hadley's clear handwriting, is not signed, a personal letter from him to his only son, ending "Affectionately Your Father James Hadley" is added. This was written in 1869, when the future President was thirteen.

James Hammond Trumbull

Class of 1842

Born, December 20, 1821; Died, August 15, 1897

Authority on Language of the North American Indian

Dr. Trumbull was one of those extraordinarily encyclopædic scholars who are not only authorities in one or two special fields of knowledge, but who have stored away and easily available a great mass of information on all sorts of obscure subjects. He was born in Stonington, Connecticut, of good New England parentage, inheriting from his father his strong antiquarian interests. He entered Yale from Tracy's Academy, Norwich, with the Class of 1842, but was compelled to leave in Junior year because of ill health. In 1850 he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and in 1862 he was enrolled with his former class. According to one of his biographers, who had every facility to ascertain the facts, he was, as an undergraduate, "marked out from the first as a unique figure." The breadth of his reading, his retentive memory, and his conversational powers were conspicuous. So "were the lively sense of humor and love of fun and practical waggery which some of his classmates now recall as his most salient characteristic and which diverted him in part from the sober routine of the place."[1] His brain outgrew his strength, and before the end of Junior year he was obliged to withdraw from college work. Scientific studies interested him particularly during his two years as an undergraduate. At this time conchology, rather than philology, seems to have been his main study. When he left New Haven, and while his classmates were still Seniors, he was appointed a corresponding member of the Yale Natural History Society. His first scholarly work was begun at this period—a catalogue of the fishes, reptiles, and shells of Connecticut. This was published in Silliman's *Journal* and received wide scientific recognition. He assisted Rev. James Harvey Linsley (B.A. 1817) in its preparation.

[1] Dexter, in *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*—New Series, Vol. 12, p. 17.

The undergraduate life of Trumbull's time is well recorded in a contemporary publication: *Sketches of Yale College with numerous Anecdotes,* etc.[2] It has an interesting chapter on "A Day in College," and describes the Greek Letter fraternities in their early years. Trumbull's name is memorialized in one of these, Psi Upsilon, whose corporate title is the Trumbull Trust Association. He was one of the three incorporators in 1862. He always retained his interest both in the society and the College. The author has in his collection a letter from him addressed to the editors of the College *Courant,* praising their issues in the first half of 1867, subscribing to the magazine, and expressing his desire to bring it "to the notice of my classmates or other graduates of Yale." He cherished with special regard volumes of Shakespeare and Milton given him as an undergraduate for prizes "in translation," and in "the solution of mathematical problems."

From 1847 on, his life was mainly centered in Hartford. Here he was in turn State Librarian, Secretary of State, and President of the Connecticut Historical Society, but his main occupation was in connection with the Watkinson Library, of which he served as Librarian for over quarter of a century. Such was the outwardly uneventful life of a scholar whose researches gained for him the presidency of the American Philological Association, membership in the National Academy of Sciences, the honorary doctorates of Harvard, Columbia, and Yale, and an international reputation among philologists. His most enduring work was on the language of the American Indian. In this field his scholarly achievements are to be compared with those of Dr. Brinton (q.v.) in the allied departments of Indian anthropology and literature. He prepared a dictionary and vocabulary to John Eliot's Indian Bible, and it was said that at one time he was the only American scholar who could read this ancient work—perhaps the most important permanent memorial of the Indian lan-

[2] This was anonymously published in 1843. Its author is known to have been E. P. Belden of the Class of 1844.

guage. Philology had its special fascination for him. For twelve years his name appeared in the Yale catalogue as Lecturer on the Indian Languages of North America. He wrote many monographs, especially on the significance of Indian names and on the structure of the language, and was considered the leading American authority on these subjects. The exactness of his knowledge of the various Indian tongues was shown by his *Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin Languages.* He also mastered the intricacies of Indian grammar, and from this and other apparently dry investigations threw much light on the early history and migrations of the various tribes.

During this period of difficult philological study he was also producing several books in a different field. *The Colonial Records of Connecticut, The True Blue-Laws of Connecticut, False Blue-Laws Invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters,* and the two-volume *Memorial History of Hartford County* are among his historical works of permanent value. Few men had so intimate a knowledge as he of the history and antiquities of New England, and no man was more painstaking to insure absolute accuracy of statement in his work. As Senator Hoar said of him, he knew "the history, the life, the manners, even the gossip, of every New England generation from the beginning, as if he had been a contemporary."[3] His contributions to bibliography—especially through the Brinley Catalogue, and the *List of Books printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800,*—to colonial history and biography, and to natural science, were all important. They found their common connecting thread in the New England of early days. But it was in the field of Indian philology and lore that Trumbull made his greatest reputation as a scholar of penetration, accuracy, and profound knowledge. Here is a contemporary's estimate of the reach and exactness of his information:

> He had an enormous fund of knowledge of the things that no one else knew, but, besides that and above it, his general information was vast and almost encyclo-

[3] Wright, *Biographical Memoir of James Hammond Trumbull,* p. 155.

pedic. A question as to language, dead or alive, ancient or modern, foreign or native, was sure of prompt and accurate reply, but not more so than one in history, science, natural history, politics, genealogy, literature, or any other branch of knowledge to which his keen observation or his mastery of many tongues opened the way. He once said that people nowadays did not need to know anything except where to look for their facts,—that the multitude of libraries, books, and authorities supplied all needed information. But he was a living contradiction of this himself. His memory was simply wonderful, and it was rare, indeed, when he could not as easily answer an inquiry off-hand, from what he knew himself, as to go and consult other authorities.[4]

Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) was an intimate friend of Dr. Trumbull. Shortly after the latter's death he wrote a letter to the *Century,* calling special attention to the deceased scholar's extraordinary breadth of knowledge and generosity towards those seeking information. In it he states that "he was probably the richest man in America in the matter of knowledge—knowledge of all values, from copper up to government bonds. . . . . He spent his riches in a princely way upon any that needed and applied. . . . . He wrote myriads of letters to information-seekers all over the world. . . . ." He then gives the following personal experience which is so characteristic that it is reproduced in full:

I asked him a question once myself about twenty years ago. I remember it yet—vividly. His answer exhibited in a striking way his two specialities—the immensity of his learning, and the generous fashion in which he lavished that and his time and labor gratis upon the ignorant needy. I was summering somewhere away from home, and one day I had a new idea—a motif for a drama. I was enchanted with the felicity of the conception—I might say intoxicated with it. It seemed to me that no idea was ever so exquisite, so beautiful, so freighted with wonderful possibilities. I believed that when I should get it fittingly dressed out in the right dramatic clothes it would not only delight the world, but astonish it. Then came a stealthy, searching, disagreeable little chill: what if the idea was not new, after all? Trumbull would know. I wrote him some cold, calm, indifferent words out of a heart that was sweltering with anxiety, mentioning my idea, and asking him in a casual way if it had ever been used in a play. His answer covered six pages, written in his fine and graceful hand—six pages of titles of plays in which the idea had been used, the date of each piracy appended, also the country and language in which the felony had been committed. The theft of my idea had been consummated two hundred and sixty-eight times. The latest instance mentioned

[4] *Hartford Courant,* August 6, 1897.

was English, and not yet three years old; the earliest had electrified China eight hundred years before Christ. Dr. Trumbull added in a footnote that his list was not complete, since it furnished only the modern instances; but that if I wished it, he would go back to early times. I do not remember the exact words I said about the early times in my answer, but it is not material; they indicated the absence of lust in that direction. I did not write the play.[5]

It is pleasant to know that such an universal scholar had a keen sense of humor and the ability to put things in a most entertaining and attractive way. His frequently reprinted little *Pilgrim's Progress 1620-1875* is good evidence of this. The most adequate biographical sketch is that read before the National Academy of Sciences by Professor Arthur W. Wright (B.A. 1859).

Hartford Apr 16, 1878

Prof. E. E. Salisbury

Dear Sir,

I can have access to a copy of Johnson's Fast Sermon of 1765, but I hesitate to order it copied, without being sure that the author for whom you ask it understands that the transcription must cost a good deal more than the original would be likely to sell for, if it happened to be in market. It occasionally—though not often—turns up in an auction catalogue. I think a couple of dollars would be the maximum price. But as it fills 61 rather large octavo pages, which would make about 75 pages of ordinary quarto manuscript, I cannot have it copied for less than $8 or $9, at the rate I am now paying for similar work.

We have a file of the N. London Gazette, and I will look up the article you mention, of Sept. 6, 1765. I was very confident that this article was in a number of the Gazette—or in a paper of the following week copied from the Gazette—in one of the volumes of bound newspapers, in the College Library. But if you have not found it there, I infer that my memorandum is wrong.

Yours truly

J. H. Trumbull

This letter is an evidence of Trumbull's keen antiquarian interest and knowledge. The sermon referred to was preached by Rev. Stephen Johnson (B.A. 1743), pastor at Old Lyme, Connecticut,

[5] *Century*, November, 1897, p. 154.

and for many years a member of the Yale Corporation. It is a patriotic discourse entitled *Some Important Observations, Occasioned by, and adapted to, The Publick Fast, Dec. 18, 1765.* The *New London Gazette* articles, about which Professor Salisbury had written to Trumbull, are said by Professor Dexter to have been "credited with special influence in arousing, and strengthening the feeling of opposition to the British Ministry."[6]

The reference to book auctions is interesting. Trumbull prepared the catalogue for the famous Brinley sale. It fills five volumes, includes 9,501 titles, and is still of the greatest value to historians and antiquarians. He was an authority on such matters, especially as they referred to New England, and was said to have been, perhaps, the "most learned and acute bibliographer in America."[7] The handwriting of the letter is characteristic of its author's extreme accuracy and attention to detail.

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 739.
[7] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. VI, p. 167.

Daniel Garrison Brinton

Class of 1858

Born, May 13, 1837; Died, July 31, 1899

American Ethnologist

Dr. Brinton's name is not known to a large proportion of the people of the United States, but in the field of ethnology he was the leading American authority, and as master of the lore of the early Indian inhabitants of the continent, he has had no equal. He was born on a farm at Thornbury, Pennsylvania. On the property were the remains of an encampment of the Delaware Indians. The arrow-heads and pieces of pottery turned up by the plough first excited his curiosity, and played their part in determining his major life work and interest.[1] He also read with avidity Humboldt's *Cosmos.* He was prepared for college by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rev. William E. Moore (B.A. 1847). In college he won two prizes for English composition, and was chairman of the Board of Editors of the *Yale Literary Magazine,* to which he contributed articles on "A City Gone to Seed" [St. Augustine], "The Tipplers of Yore," and other subjects which are early evidences of his antiquarian tastes. He was not a high scholar, as he made only a Second Dispute at the Junior Exhibition and at Commencement, but he secured a Townsend Premium for his essay on "The Leaven of the Gospel in the Poetry of Christian Nations." Literature was evidently his "forte" as an undergraduate. He was prominent in student social life as a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon, and of the next to the oldest of the Senior societies. His period in college was marked by the last of the Town and Gown riots,[2] in which, as usual, the Fire Department played a large part, but it was the class below

[1] *Brinton Memorial Meeting* . . . . "under the auspices of The American Philosophical Society," p. 18.

[2] For interesting account of these disturbances see Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* Chapter V.

Brinton's that was mainly involved. He was a great reader, and spent a large portion of his time in the College Library where he could satisfy his interest in matters antiquarian. The winter of his Junior year[3] was passed in Florida, where he collected information for a volume on Indian antiquities, published the year after his graduation. After taking his Bachelor's degree he studied medicine at the Jefferson Medical College, and at Paris and Heidelberg. He had little more than begun the practice of his profession when the Civil War broke out. His patriotism was genuine, so he gladly consecrated his medical skill to the Union cause, which he served for three years, being finally brevetted Lieutenant Colonel of Volunteers "for meritorious services." He saw much active duty as a surgeon, being present at many battles, including Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge. Soon after the close of the war he moved to Philadelphia, where for twenty years he edited the *Medical and Surgical Reporter, Compendiums of Medical Science,* and other professional publications. He was known as an advocate of the clinical method both in instruction and in diagnosis, his whole mental attitude being that of the inductive school. During these years ethnology was only his avocation, but by his leisure reading and study he was laying the foundations for his future eminence in this field.

The change of his major interest from medicine to primitive man is shown by his election, in 1884, to the chair of Ethnology and Archæology in the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and two years later, by his promotion to the professorship of American Archæology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania. His life work was now clearly indicated—it was to secure and preserve for future generations as much information as possible regarding the civilization of the North American Indians. To him it was not ethnology and anthropology for their own sake that appealed the most strongly, but these as giving information which would help

[3] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. I, p. 377.

man in his progress upward. As Provost Harrison said at the meeting in his memory:

> Dr. Brinton's devotion to what he himself called "the new science of anthropology" was most interesting. He had the utmost confidence, not only in the importance of the science itself as a science, but also in its practical value as an applied science in politics, education and legislation. He was not in any way a mere "collector" or "observer," in the familiar sense of these words; he had a distinct and definite belief that very many of the mistakes which man has made in his progress and civilization have been due to his lack of knowledge of himself, and that this knowledge can be obtained best by the collection and comparison of the records of the phenomena of his diverse mental activities.[4]

A man with such a human purpose could not be narrow. He had encyclopædic information, and great breadth of sympathy and interest. He knew the classics thoroughly, read much in modern literature, was an ardent admirer of Walt Whitman, was deeply interested in art, philosophy, and religion, and was well versed in the physical sciences.[5] But anthropology, especially as applied to the Indian, was the field in which he was preëminent. The scope of his work here may be indicated by the titles of some of his more important books: *American Hero Myths, Aboriginal American Authors and their Productions,* and *A Grammar of the Cakchiquel Language of Guatemala.* He edited and published eight volumes of the *Library of American Aboriginal Literature,* with the purpose of placing "within reach of scholars authentic materials for the study of the languages and culture of the native races of America." This series received the highest scientific recognition.

The difficult field of aboriginal linguistics was one in which he was a master. His large volume entitled *The American Race* was the first attempt at a systematic classification of all the tribes of both American continents on the basis of language. Nearly sixteen hundred groups were included in this study, several of the tribal stocks being defined for the first time.[6]

His minute knowledge of Indian linguistics and customs enabled

[4] *Brinton Memorial Meeting,* p. 11.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 17. [6] *Ibid.,* p. 22.

him to lay bare several forgeries, and he was generally recognized as the first authority on disputed points regarding the prehistoric races of the New World. He held decided opinions on many controverted subjects. For instance, he strongly opposed the theory of the Asiatic origin of the civilization of Central America, and maintained vigorously the thesis that similar religious beliefs were not necessarily derived by contact, but that they had arisen spontaneously in different parts of the world, showing that the human mind everywhere is in direct contact with the divine. This latter subject is discussed in one of his most interesting books, *Religions of Primitive Peoples,*[7] which was the subject of his course of lectures at Yale in 1897. He was himself a man of deep religious interests although these did not express themselves in conventional forms. "The aim of Science," he said, "is the Real; of Art, the Ideal; of Action, Happiness. It is for Religion to unite this trinity into a unity in each individual life."[8] Dr. McGee, of the Smithsonian Institution, thus summed up his contribution to science:

> He was the third pioneer in the New Ethnology, and the founder of that subscience which deals with the myths and beliefs of primitive peoples; he was a frequent and luminous contributor to all other branches of the science; and he was the foremost critic, constructive as well as destructive, of his generation. Brinton's name must be writ large and strong in the history of Humanity's Science.[9]

Evidence of Dr. Brinton's standing among scholars is afforded by the fact that he was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and that he served as President of the International Congress of Anthropology, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the American Folk Lore Society. He was the first citizen of the United States to receive the medal of the "Société Américaine de France," "for his numerous and learned works on American Ethnology." The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia struck a medal in his honor. Twenty-six learned societies united in holding a memorial meeting under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, which published the addresses

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 24. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 27. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

made on the occasion under the title of the *Brinton Memorial Meeting*. One of these, by Professor Albert H. Smyth, gives a most interesting sketch of his life and work.

[From]
Dr. D. G. Brinton, Ap. 4/85
Media, Pa.

Dear Miss Alger

I have been delighted with your Passamaquoddy legend of the Witches. It has the true ring of aboriginal lore about it. Nothing so symmetrical appears in Leland's book—nothing more so in any of our collections of nature stories. What are you going to do with it? You must of course publish it somewhere.

Yours sincerely
D. G. Brinton.

A phrase in this letter—"the true ring of aboriginal lore"—is characteristic of Dr. Brinton. He was not merely a dry research student, but was deeply appealed to by the sentiment and poetry of the old Indian legends. Charles G. Leland had an article the previous September in the *Century* on the folk-stories of the same group of Indians referred to by Miss Alger.

William Graham Sumner

Class of 1863

Born, October 30, 1840; Died, April 12, 1910

Sociologist and Economist

In 1905 the Class of 1863, Yale College, of which Sumner was a member, published a Class History. It contains much valuable material, but the following autobiography seems to the author to be the most interesting and human document in the book:

I was born at Paterson, N. J., October 30, 1840. My father, Thomas Sumner, was born at Walton-le-Dale, Lancashire, England, May 6, 1808. He came to the United States in 1836. My mother was Sarah Graham. She was born in Oldham, England, in 1819, and was brought to the United States by her parents in 1825. She died when I was eight years old. This is about all I know of my ancestry. My father told me that he had seen his own great-grandfather, who was a weaver in Lancashire. They were all artisans and members of the wages-class. It is safe to say that I am the first of them who ever learned Latin and algebra. My grandfather had a good trade, which was ruined by machinery. On account of this family disaster, my father was in every respect a self-educated man, and was obliged to come to America. His principles and habits of life were the best possible. His knowledge was wide, and his judgment excellent. He belonged to the class of men, of whom Caleb Garth in Middlemarch is the type. In early life I accepted, from books and other people, some views and opinions which differed from his. At the present time, in regard to those matters, I hold with him and not with the others.

In the year after I was born my father went prospecting through Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York. He came back convinced that, if a man would live as poorly and educate his children as badly in the East as he would have to in the West, he could do as well in the East. He moved to New England, lived in New Haven a year or two, and settled in Hartford about 1845. I was educated in the public schools of that city. I was clerk in a store for two years, but went back to school to prepare for college.

After graduating I went at once to Europe. I passed the winter of 1863-4 in Geneva, Switzerland, and studying French and Hebrew. In April, 1864, I went to Göttingen, where I studied ancient languages and history. In April, 1866, I went to Oxford, where I studied Anglican theology. In that year I was elected tutor at Yale and entered upon the duties in September.

I was ordained Deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church at Trinity Church, New Haven, December 27, 1867. I resigned the tutorship in March, 1869, to become assistant to the rector of Calvary Church, New York City. From September, 1870, to September, 1872, I was Rector at the Church of the Redeemer, at Morristown, N. J.

In June, 1872, I was elected Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. My life has been spent since that time in trying to fulfill the duties of that position. From 1873 to 1876 I was an alderman of the City of New Haven. In 1876 I was one of the "visiting statesmen," who were sent to New Orleans to try to find out what kind of a presidential election they had in Louisiana in that year. This is the whole of my experience in politics. I found out that I was likely to do more harm in politics than almost any other kind of man, because I did not know the rules of the game and did not want to learn them. Therefore, the adepts at it could play with me in more senses than one. My experience, however, has been very valuable to me. It has enabled me to gauge the value of the talk we hear about "civics" and "citizenship." I turned back to the studies connected with my college position, and have devoted myself entirely to them. Those studies have expanded so rapidly and greatly that I have been compelled during the whole thirty-two years to narrow the range of my work more and more. I have renounced one branch after another in order to concentrate my efforts on what I could hope to master. In this process I have had to throw away a great amount of work, which I could never hope to finish. When I was fifty years old I broke down in health. I have only partly recovered and have been obliged to limit my interests as much as possible to the college work. I am now trying to bring into form for publication the results of my studies in the science of society. If life and strength hold out, this will be the sum of what I shall have accomplished. The life of a professor is so simple and so monotonous that I know of no other "history" of it that is possible, than what I have just written. No other life could have been so well suited to my taste as this. My relations with students and graduates have always been of the pleasantest, and I think that there can be few relations in life which can give greater satisfaction than these.[1]

To the men of Yale who have sat under Sumner, these short, crisp sentences tell an interesting story, and bring back many reminiscences of their great teacher. The main outlines of the life history stand out so plainly that one hesitates to add to them, but there are three gaps which must be filled; first, his college course; second, his writings; third, his personality and influence as a teacher.

Sumner as an undergraduate is an attractive figure. He was a strong man in a strong class, and the friendships which he formed

[1] *A History of the Class of 1863, Yale College,* under Sumner.

then remained with him through life, especially those with Henry F. Dimock, for many years a useful member of the Yale Corporation, and with Dr. Lewis Stimson, Professor of Surgery in the Cornell University Medical School. His undergraduate career showed his classmates that he was a man of large intellectual power, especially in debating. In Sophomore year he won first prize in the debate in Brothers, on "Is the form of government of the United States better adapted for a civilized people than that of Great Britain?" In Senior year he again took first honors in the class contest of his society, in which he held in succession the positions of Secretary, Vice-President, and President. His literary ability was shown by his sharing the highest English Composition Prize of his division in Sophomore year, by his election as an editor of the short-lived *University Quarterly,* by his oration at the Exhibition of Junior year on "The Trial of John Hampden," and by his Townsend Oration on "Loyalty to the State and Allegiance to an Individual Compared." As in after life, so as an undergraduate, his writing was marked by force and clearness, rather than by any fine literary sense. He graduated the eighth man in his class in scholarship. The student life of the period, with its odd customs, including the Burial of Euclid, which was abolished by Sumner's class, is well known to Yale men from *Four Years at Yale.* Lyman Bagg's work also continues to be the main source of information to the uninitiated regarding the Society System, in which Sumner, as an undergraduate, was prominent, being a member of the oldest of the Senior organizations.

And now as to his writings in after life. It is not possible to enumerate here all of his publications, but among those of real significance were: *A History of American Currency, What Social Classes Owe to each Other, Protectionism, Life of Andrew Jackson, The Financier and Finances of the Revolution, A History of Banking in the United States,* and *Folkways.* The last named is a section of a

"Science of Society," on which he had been working for years, and which is being completed by his successor, Professor Keller, who has also edited two volumes of his addresses: *War, and Other Essays,* and *Earth Hunger.* These works set forth in simple, vigorous language, with much learning, but with a lack of form and finish, the cardinal principles for which he battled—the doctrines of "laissez faire," free trade, gold monometalism, individualism, evolution, the importance of customs and of education, and the utter hopelessness of trying to reform the world in a day, especially by legislation. It is believed that his *Folkways* is the most important of his writings. In it he summed up the facts he had accumulated, and the conclusions he had reached during the latter part of his life, which was devoted to the study of primitive man and of his relation to his fellow men. This he finds based on the *mores.* As his name will be increasingly connected with this idea, his definition of it is of importance. "I mean by it the popular usages and traditions, when they include a judgment that they are conducive to societal welfare, and when they exert a coercion on the individual to conform to them, although they are not coördinated by any authority."[2] The book will be a force for good in driving home to students of society, and to the thinking public generally, the conviction that governments and laws, to be of the highest service, must be based on the experience of the past and have their roots deep in human history.

It remains to consider Sumner as a teacher. He was one of the first men in America to take up the teaching of economics as a profession. Professor Perry had combined the subject with history at Williams College for over a decade, and Professor Dunbar had been filling the chair at Harvard for a year, when Sumner in the College, and Francis A. Walker in the Sheffield Scientific School, began their professorial instruction at Yale, in 1872. He was therefore one of

[2] Preface to *Folkways,* p. iii.

the American pioneers in this subject, and it was a time when the aftermath of the Civil War left for solution a peculiarly difficult set of economic problems. Sumner's teaching at first was directed largely against what he considered the great economic fallacies of the time—inflation and protection. He hit hard blows, and although they then seemed to have little effect, except in making politicians angry, their influence on the younger generation is now seen to have been large.

After he had built up a strong department of economics at Yale, he transferred his energies more and more to what he was fond of calling "Societology." The change was not so fundamental as it might at first seem to be, for his published work had been mainly on the historical side of economic questions. It was now turned to social history, especially as shown in the conditions of life of primitive man. But the change in field carried with it no change of method. This was still historical and critical. It was marked by the most exhaustive collating of facts, and the careful weighing of evidence, followed by the vigorous presentation of conclusions, as though alternative opinions were utterly impossible. One of his pupils has borne interesting testimony on this point: "His theory of teaching was to express his conclusions as forcefully and unequivocally as possible. He believed that too many pros and cons merely confuse students. But in his own mind every pro and con had been carefully weighed beforehand."[3] Sumner's method had its advantages and its disadvantages. It laid him open on the one hand to the charge of dogmatism. On the other hand it stimulated thought and discussion, as students became equally earnest either as advocates or opponents of his theories and conclusions. He held his convictions with great tenacity, but he cared much more to develop among men the power of independent thinking, than to make slavish disciples. He was a seeker after the kernel beneath the shell, a hater of shams, a

[3] Professor Irving Fisher, *Yale Review*, May, 1910.

man of indomitable courage and energy in developing and presenting his conclusions—just the type of man of whom Carlyle would have made a hero.

At the close of a brilliant and critical review, by an old student, of the method and thought shown in *War, and Other Essays,* stand these true words:

> But it is the personality, the moral influence of the man which, at this distance of time, explains and justifies the old estimate of his greatness as a teacher. The thousands of young men who passed through his classrooms found in him not only extraordinary intellectual vigor applied to vital problems but an inspiring example of unflinching courage and absolute sincerity in word and thought. . . . . Under a severe manner were hidden a breadth of generosity and a depth of tenderness which were the more moving because of the delicacy with which they were customarily veiled. . . . ."[4]

In the life of *Moses Coit Tyler* (q.v.) there is a good contemporary picture of Sumner's classroom when revisited in 1890:

> New Haven, 21 March. At half-past eight lecture by Professor W. G. Sumner—or, rather, a class exercise. Subject: *The American iron market in relation to the tariff;* first fifteen minutes class wrote in silence; papers were taken up, then questions fired upon him by the class. His way of dealing with them was masterly. I never witnessed more admirable teaching. All tell me that he wields an unrivalled influence over the students. Can well believe it. I waited to speak with him. His manner to me was formal, cold.[5]

He always showed in his college relations an almost austere sense of duty. He gladly did arduous committee work on the Faculty, where for years he was the leader of the element that was trying to make the curriculum more elastic; he attended his lectures with conscientious regularity; he read hundreds of tests and examination books without a word of complaint, and gave much time, in the earlier years, to representing the authorities in their dealings with the students. He was an excellent college officer, and a loyal, sincere man, always glad to try to do his duty, whether it was on the State Board of Education, or at the ballot box. He was distinguished as an econo-

[4] *Yale Review* for 1912, p. 697.
[5] Austen, *Moses Coit Tyler,* p. 256.

mist, and probably even more as a student of primitive society, but it was as a teacher that he was supreme. Men often, probably generally, departed from many of his economic and social theories, such as his extreme individualism, and his opposition to every form of government regulation—and we should not regret that they did—but even those who disagreed with him most radically, gladly paid tribute to his inspiring power as a rugged teacher of what he believed to be the Truth.[6] To find this—no matter how exacting the search, and to proclaim it—no matter how unpopular, constituted his goal. An example of the former is shown by the fact that he acquired after middle life a knowledge of Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Russian, and Polish,[7] that he might study scholarly works in these tongues. An example of the latter was his address on "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" at a time when public opinion, with what it believed to be patriotic zeal, strongly favored the war over Cuba.

The climax of his career was reached at the Commencement of 1909, when his Alma Mater conferred upon him, as it rarely does upon a member of its own Faculty, the degree of Doctor of Laws. The scene was memorable, for the enthusiasm was contagious, as fathers and sons united in doing honor to the great teacher of two generations. The word "ovation" is often used when it is not deserved, but Sumner certainly received one that day, and his friends were glad to see that the old Roman's heart was touched.

His death occurred from apoplexy in attempting to do his duty by going to New York in a heavy snowstorm to deliver his address as President of the American Sociological Society. For sketches of Professor Sumner, the reader is referred to Professor Keller's Introduction to *War, and Other Essays,* and to the tributes in the *Yale Review* for May, 1910.

[6] See Meredith Nicholson's novel, *A Hoosier Chronicle,* p. 166, etc.
[7] *Yale Obituary Record,* 1910, p. 1225.

Glencoe Ho. III/28/00
Seal Harbor Me.

Dear Keller,

Blumentritt's book seemed to me very useful for any-body who wants information but it furnishes no material for "whooping it up" over our new possessions. I thought that the judgments expressed at the end about the U. S. were unsound & valueless; ie. he had not seized the point. All Germans nowadays seem to be in a state of irritation about world power. If they see anybody *seem* to them to be getting on in the scramble they resent it as a wrong to them. That is about the tone of B. I was not however, prepared to learn that publishers wd refuse a book because of such a fault. I suppose the publishers know the public appetite for poppycock & taffy. You might cut out the objectionable passages & put in a few words in the preface about them. You can find a publisher somewhere.

I am sorry it so hot at home. Mrs. Sumner has been ill here for a month but is slowly mending.

Ys very sincerely
W. G. Sumner

This letter was apropos of the unsuccessful attempt of Professor Sumner's pupil and successor in office, Professor Keller, to secure a publisher for Blumentritt's well-known German work on the Philippines. Its abbreviations, its jerky, abrupt style, and its use of such expressive colloquialisms as "whoop it up," "poppycock," and "taffy" are all characteristic of their author. He was a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist, and hence entirely out of sympathy with the acquisition of the Philippines.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Benjamin Trumbull (Class of 1759), Born, 1735; Died, 1820.

After graduation from college, Trumbull studied theology under Eleazar Wheelock (q.v.), who, preaching his ordination sermon, commended him as "not a sensual, sleepy, lazy, dumb dog, that could not bark back"! On the list of Master's degree "Quæstiones" for 1762, Benjamin "Trumble" is down to take the negative of *An Gratia sufficiens ad corruptionem supprimendam omnibus concedatur?* He was pastor at North Haven for nearly sixty years. His claim to permanent recognition is as author of *A Complete History of Connecticut*, which was published in final form in New Haven in 1818, although the first volume had appeared in 1797. The work was considered of sufficient merit to be reprinted in 1898. DeTocqueville in his *Democracy in America* referred to it as "The best History to consult concerning Connecticut." It remained the standard work on the subject until the publication in 1855 of the *History of Connecticut*, by Gideon H. Hollister (B.A. 1840).

The autograph is a manuscript sermon (numbered 1330!) and first preached in 1778. It is on the importance of "watching" as a preparation for death and judgment. The small size of the sheets used (6¼ x 4 inches) is characteristic of nearly all old New England sermons. The University Library has an important collection of Trumbull manuscripts.

Abiel Holmes (Class of 1783), Born, 1763; Died, 1837.

Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote to President Porter in December, 1879:

> I must thank you for your very pleasant and kindly letter to our friends who gave us all a breakfast on the 3d. I should hardly have felt happy without a letter from my father's college, with the memories and traditions of which I was familiar from my earliest years. The portrait of President Stiles hung over the mantelpiece of my father's study. The profile of Governor Yale was on the cover of the snuff-box from which my father took his Maccaboy—helping the Lorillards out of *pinching* obscurity, if not poverty, into coach-driving opulence and horse-racing celebrity.[1]

The father of the "Autocrat" spent his life as the greatly honored pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was the literary executor of President Stiles and wrote his life. He was also the author of *American Annals*, which first appeared in 1813. Justin Winsor, writing seventy-five

[1] Merriam, *Noah Porter*, p. 186. Cf. Holmes, *Astræa*, pp. 7, 8.

years later, could say of it,—"Bancroft in 1838 said, 'Take it all for all, the *Annals* of Holmes constitute a work which in its kind has never been equalled among us, and has few parallels anywhere'; and this judgment is as good today, the portion relating to the Revolution being of the general excellence of the rest of the volume, and strengthened by references to authorities."[2]

In the letter (1822) Holmes states that he is planning to go "to Andover, and assist in examining the Library." He was specially interested in the Seminary, of which he was a Trustee.

JAMES LUCE KINGSLEY (Class of 1799), Born, 1778; Died, 1852.

Professor Kingsley was for fifty years a member of the Yale Faculty, and may be considered one of the most important factors in the development of the College during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the classics were his special province, Professor Dexter states that "if any of his generation among the graduates deserved the title of a 'universal scholar' it was he."[3] He was specially noted for the purity and elegance of his style, both in Latin and in English. This led the elder President Dwight to call him the "American Addison." His literary criticisms and reviews were of exceptional merit and would have gained him a much broader reputation had they not been almost exclusively anonymous. His elaborate *Historical Discourse*, delivered in 1838 on the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Haven, still ranks high both for form and matter. Professor Kingsley should be remembered in undergraduate circles as the founder, in 1821, of Chi Delta Theta—the college literary society, whose symbol is the gold triangle.

He is represented in the autograph collection by a page from a Class Album of 1850, giving his signature, with this quotation which he had selected from Cicero:

"Nihil potest esse æquabile, quod non a certa ratione proficiscatur."

JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS (Class of 1809), Born, 1790; Died, 1861.

Professor Gibbs, like his even more distinguished son, was a profound and accurate scholar, and a man of extreme modesty. His serious and scholarly habits dated back to his youth. It is told of him that when his classmates decided to refuse to recite a certain lesson, he rose "modest and blushing," and stated that as he had come to college to study, he proposed to recite, whatever others might do—an incident which also does credit to his independence.[4] He

[2] Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VIII, p. 474.
[3] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, p. 364.
[4] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. II, p. 40.

was Professor in the Yale Divinity School from 1824 until his death, serving also as University Librarian during the first half of this period. His field was mainly philological. He translated Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament*, published *Philological Studies with English Illustrations*, *A New Latin Analyst*, and *Teutonic Etymology*, and was a frequent contributor to reviews on philological, biblical, and archæological subjects. He was pre-eminently a linguistic scholar. "There can be," he said, "no exercise in the whole business of instruction more useful to the mind than the analysis of sentences in the concentrated light of grammar and logic. . . . . It is here that every one who loves to think beholds the deep things of the human spirit, and learns to regard with holy reverence the sacred symbols of human thought."[5] This passage is an excellent self-revelation.

The autograph is merely a signed receipt.

EDWARD ELBRIDGE SALISBURY (Class of 1832), Born, 1814; Died, 1901.

After preparing himself by six years of graduate study, under Gibbs and others in the Yale Divinity School, and abroad, he accepted, in 1841, the professorship of Arabic and Sanskrit, which was created for him by the Yale Corporation. In 1854 he transferred the chair of Sanskrit to his pupil, William Dwight Whitney. He was active in the development of the American Oriental Society, of which he was at one time President. He presented to the University his valuable library, endowed the professorship of Sanskrit, and showed in other ways his unusually generous interest in his Alma Mater. Both Harvard and Yale conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. The interest in Oriental studies in American universities owes much directly and indirectly to Professor Salisbury's labors.

The letter was written to President Woolsey in September, 1856, asking "whether a special meeting of the Prudential Committee might not be held this week, or next, to decide upon the acceptance or rejection of my proposals." These had reference to the endowment of the Sanskrit professorship. This was established by Professor Salisbury in 1854, although arrangements for its adequate endowment were not completed until 1862.

HENRY STEVENS (Class of 1843), Born, 1819; Died, 1886.

Mr. Stevens inherited his antiquarian tastes from his father, and became the leading American bibliographer of his generation, with an international reputation. He lived in England during the last forty years of his life, devot-

[5] *The Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Divinity School*, p. 85.

ing himself to the collection of Americana for the British Museum, and for the great American libraries, which owe much to his indefatigable labors. He was always on the lookout to serve Yale by the gift of rare pamphlets dealing with her early history. His publications, which were very numerous, have become valuable to American historical students. They included catalogues of American books and maps in the British Museum, an *Analytic Index to Colonial Documents of New Jersey in the State Paper Offices of England, Historical Collections*, etc. He was also an authority on editions of the English Bible. There is a portrait of him in the University Dining Hall.

He writes to Simon [Sterne?], April 6, 1861, urging that he be appointed American Commissioner: "As agent of the Smithsonian Institute my office is a kind of American Intelligence office in London and now I should like to make it the General intelligence office for information respecting the Great Exhibition of 1862." He also refers to his offer to sell to Mr. Corcoran the entire Humboldt Library for £6,500.

Moses Coit Tyler (Class of 1857), Born, 1835; Died, 1900.

He began his life work as a Congregational minister but was later ordained in the Episcopal Church. He held for some years the chair of English Language and Literature at the University of Michigan and ended his career as Professor of American History at Cornell. In 1897 he was offered the Emily Sanford Professorship of English Literature at Yale, which he "sorrowfully" declined, saying that the call came too late. "Did I ever dream that I could refuse a call to old Yale?"[6] is the entry in his journal. His writings include *History of American Literature*, *Life of Patrick Henry*, etc. His most important book, "a standard piece of literary work which need never be done over again,"[7] is his *Literary History of the American Revolution*, often quoted in these pages. Professor Tyler was known equally for the beauty of his character, the charm of his style, and the thoroughness of his published work.

The letter is to Professor Salisbury regarding "the Johnson papers" which he was using in connection with his studies of early American literature.

Edward Gaylord Bourne (Class of 1883), Born, 1860; Died, 1908.

Professor Bourne gave promise in college of the keenness of his later scholarship, winning the Cobden Club medal, and Berkeley and Foote scholarships. He was nine years as a student at Yale, then went to Western Reserve

[6] Austen, *Moses Coit Tyler*, p. 288.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 290, Professor Hart of Harvard.

College as instructor, and later Professor, of History, being called back to his Alma Mater in 1895. His important work was done in training graduate students in the best methods of historical investigation, and in writing a few volumes showing brilliant qualities in criticism and research. His special field was early American history; his most representative works, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, and *Spain in America*.[8] It was the opinion of those who knew him best that, had his life been spared, his reputation would have been that of one of the most productive of America's historians. The books and articles prepared in his short career showed masterly power in unraveling the obscure facts of history, and in presenting them to other scholars.

The autograph is a brief note to the editor of the *Directory of Living Graduates* regarding the address list of the Class of 1883, of which Professor Bourne was the efficient Secretary.

[8] It is worth recording that Reuben Gold Thwaites, the editor of the seventy-three volumes of *Jesuit Relations*, and the most scholarly historian of the West, was a postgraduate student at Yale in 1874–1875.

Henry Martyn Dexter (B.A. 1840) is recognized as the leading authority on the history of American Congregationalism.

END OF VOLUME I

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